

manners, that reign among the people. 'Tis that sacred salt mentioned in the scripture, which God by his good Providence hath opposed to all the corruptions that are in the world. And I believe the scarcity of good Preachers in this age may be occasioned, by the little care men have, of begging of God these sorts of Gifts, which cannot be enough prayed for. Let us then with a lively faith, and ardent devotion, and a long perseverance, make the same Prayer to God which he commanded the Apostles, and would have us learn from them.

*Messis quidem multa, & operarii vero pauci; Rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam. Luc. c. 10.*

**F I N I S**

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**F I N I S**



A  
COMPARISON

Between the  
Eloquence

O F  
*Demosthenes and Cicero.*

*R. Rapin*

---

**Translated out of French.**

---

**O X F O R D.**

Printed, and are to be sold by the  
Booksellers there. Anno 1672.

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# COMPARISON

between the

## ELOQUENCE

of Demosthenes and  
Cicero.

### CHAP. I.

A commendation of Demosthe-  
nes and Cicero, giving an  
account of their respective  
Merits.

SUCH is the worth of Demosthenes  
and Cicero, that it cannot be dis-  
cover'd but by those who are in like  
manner qualified; nor valued but ac-  
cording

## 2 The Eloquence of Demost.

according to] the degree in which it is possess'd. The understanding which young men acquire by their first studies, is too much limited to make them capable of judging between these Authors, or of putting a just value upon their works; to which end there is requir'd both a good stock of natural abilities, improv'd by a settled & solid reason, (the effect of time & age) & an uncorrupted & unprejudic'd judgment, gain'd by being well read in ancient writers. I am far from presuming that I am endow'd with these qualifications, yet I hope my endeavors will not altogether prove useless to others towards the attaining them, if I here make observations upon what is most remarkable in these two Orators. This was the only motive which induced me to publish my reflections upon this subject: and I must needs confess that after having made them, I was more perswaded than before, that the

Genius

Genius of these two men; like other miraculous productions of nature, was never seen in the world but once; and that though 'tis difficult to apprehend their excellencies, yet 'tis much more so to describe them. It is acknowledged that neither Eloquence ever made two greater Orators, nor Policy rais'd two more accomplish'd States-men. But it is not easy to determine, by which of those two means they got most reputation; Since besides their great abilities, and the profound insight which their refin'd understandings gave them into business, they also had the advantage of being able to maintain in their publick assemblies, whatever they propounded, and of perswading their audience to what they pleas'd. It were superfluous here to treat of the Orations, Negotiations, Embassies, Treaties, secret and publick intelligences, and the Expeditions Demosthenes run through;

#### 4 The Eloquence of Demost.

through ; as well as of the Superintendencies, Provincial governments, Military commands, and absolute power *Cicero* enjoy'd in the most flourishing State in the world, seeing they furnish us with far greater subjects to discourse of. For there is nobody, but knows the good fortune they both had, of numbring Kings in the list of their Clients and adherents ; of giving their protection to Crowns, and of ruling the Destiny of all that was then great in the world. The Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, was the Grecians surest defence, & the Persians greatest security against the designs of the Macedonian Kings ; and that of *Cicero* in destroying *Catiline*, saved Rome from a ruine, which otherwise she neither could have avoided, nor repair'd ; and rais'd young *Octavius* to the Consulship, when he, (considering the aversion which all men then had to the Usurpation of his Predecessor) dar'd not so much

as

as think on't; especially at the age he was of, had not *Cicero* encourag'd him with a promise of his assistance: and indeed it was he alone who first turn'd the tide, in that strange conjuncture of affaires; by those Orationes he made to the people against *Marc Anthony*.

The abilities of these two great men were such, as made the most knowing persons among the Ancients look upon them as prodigies; and indeed if any one will take the pains to dive deep into their works, they will find so vast an extent of knowledge, that it is hard to conceive, how it was possible for them, who spent almost their whole lives in publick employments, to spare so much time for study: for never did any two heads contain, either so many State Intrigues, or so much of that knowledge, which is obtain'd by study and meditation.



# 6 The Eloquence of Demost.

## CHAP. II. no kind as

*Learned men have not dared to  
determine which of the two  
ought to be prefer'd.*

**N**Othing can represent unto us  
so lively an Idea of their worth,  
as the difficulty all learn'd and Elo-  
quent men have found in deciding  
which of the two ought to have the  
precedence; the forbearance of  
which, is an indubitable signe of  
the respect every one bore them;  
this decision being lookt upon, as a  
thing too difficult, or too bold,  
for any one to attempt; and the  
truth is (not to mention a great ma-  
ny able-men who have been famous  
in later times) I find that *Plutarch*,  
*Quintilian*, and *Longinus*, who are  
the three Persons of the ancients who  
have best known, most carefully ex-  
amin'd, and most clearly judg'd of De-  
mosthenes

*Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, are very re-  
serv'd in this matter; and have not  
dared to declare themselves in the  
deciding of it. I mention not here that  
Sicilian call'd *Cecilius*, who first (as  
*Suidas* tells us) compared them to-  
gether, because his works are lost.

*Longinus* in his treatise of the Lofly  
way of speaking, after having compar-  
ed the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* to  
Lightning, which overturns all things,  
and *Cicero's* to a great fire which  
devoures and consumes all, that he  
might not be oblig'd to give his judg-  
ment of them, refers his Readers to

*Terentianus*, who is more obscure in  
the case than himself.

*Quintilian* where he compares  
the qualities and accomplishments of  
these two Orators, does first premise,

Non igitur quidam mihi concitem pagum, cum id  
sit profectum ut Cicero et Demostheni comparem.  
Lib. 10. cap. 1.

that

# 6 The Eloquence of Demost.

## CHAP. II.

*Learned men have not dared to determine which of the two ought to be prefer'd.*

**N**Othing can represent unto us so lively an Idea of their worth, as the difficulty all learn'd and Eloquent men have found in deciding which of the two ought to have the precedence; the forbearance of which is an indubitable signe of the respect every one bore them; this decision being lookt upon as a thing too difficult, or too bold, for any one to attempt; and the truth is (not to mention a great many able-men who have been famous in later times) I find that *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, and *Longinus*, who are the three Persons of the ancients who have best known, most carefully examin'd, and most clearly judg'd of Demosthenes

*mosihenes* and *Ucero*, are very re-  
serv'd in this matter; and have not  
dared to declare themselves in the  
deciding of it. I mention not here that  
Bicilian call'd *Ucilius*, who first (as  
*Sextus* tells us) compar'd them to-  
gether, because his works are lost.

Longinus in his treatise of the Lofty way of speaking, after having compar'd the Eloquence of Demosthenes to Lightning, which overturns all things, and Cicero to a great fire which devours and consumes all, that he might not be oblig'd to give his judgment of them, refers his Readers to Petronianus, who is more obscure in the case than himself.

need *Quintilian*, where he compares the qualities and accomplishments of these two Orators, does first premise,

[illegible]

- *Non igitur quantale mihi conciten pagani, cum id non sit profutur ut Ciceroem Demostheni comparem.*  
Lib. 10. cap. 1.

that

## 8 The Floquent Demost.

that he pretends not to decide which ought to be prefer'd, but avoids it as a presumption he dares not allow himself; and adds, that he should think himself too far engaged, if he should venture to declare his opinion in the case. *aid Plutarch* the most judicious and quick sighted amongst the Criticks, after having at large drawn their Pictures; after having put their fancy, humours, tempers, and even their adventures in the ballance, dares not make it incline either way, but acknowledges that he is not well enough vers'd in the Latine tongue, to be able to judge between them. It might be thought, seeing he had been Tutor to *Trajan*, & wrote in the time of *Adrian*, & it being the custom of the Greeks, not to write in praise of any nation but their own, that this his reservedness proceeded from an excess of complacency, or from some Politick reason, as if he design'd by this meanes

meanes to ingratiate himself with the Romans; & indeed one may wonder, he layd not hold <sup>on</sup> the advantage of three hundred yeares reputation, w<sup>ch</sup> his *Demosthenes* had over *Cicero*, it being in case of reputation as in that of Nobility, where that which is most ancient is most esteem'd. But not to stand upon false conjectures, it is more then probable that these three Criticks, who are reckon'd among the most judicious, have not determin'd any thing in the foremention'd controversy, because it is difficult to resolve which side to take, when both are so eminently deserving. For a discerning apprehension, which in other cases is indispensably necessary to fit one to judge well of things, is here an obstacle to it, and the more one sees into them, the more difficult it is to pronounce, which best deserves the prize. For this cannot be determin'd, unless there be some apparent disparity, which

## 10. *The Elocution of Demost.*

It is as hard to discover, as 'tis to compare their wit or Eloquence, seeing there is no certain rule whereby to measure them. Notwithstanding that we may make some kind of comparison between them, we must fix upon some principle, according to which we may examine these two great Persons who hitherto have past for the sole standards of true Eloquence.

### CHAP. III.

*The fixing on a rule by which the comparison may be made.*

SOON then we are to enquire what Eloquence properly is; and being it is an art that does altogether exist in the internal faculties of the soules, the Ideas of it have been multiplied, according to the diversity of the Genius of those who have appli'd themselves to it; & hence it came

to



to pass, that every age has formed to  
its self a Character of Eloquence,  
agreeable to the humor and mode  
of the times. *Protagoras* his Elo-  
quence, whom *Plato* styles the first  
founder of the order of Sophisters,  
was altogether superficial, and con-  
sisted only in words, whereas that  
of *Pericles* and *Lycias* was nothing  
but things.

The Eloquence of *Crassus* and  
*Antony*, of *Cotta* and *Sulpitius*, of  
which *Cicero* hath left us so faire  
characters in his book *de Oratore*, is  
much different from that of those de-  
clamers, the fragments of whose works  
we meet with in *Seneca's* controver-  
sies. I mention not the diverse kinds  
of Eloquence, we light upon in the  
works of *Pliny* the younger, *Cornelius*  
*Tacitus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Symmachus*, *Pa-*  
*catus*, *Marcellinus*, *Ennodius*, and many  
by others, in whom the acuteness of  
style by degrees grew duller, and  
follow'd the fate of the then declining  
Empire,

## 12 The Eloquence of Demost.

Empire, for its survey would be endless. So that considering in how many several shapes eloquence has appear'd in diverse ages, it may well be reckon'd among those things, w<sup>ch</sup> by being too general, and having too many different dresses, cannot be particularly defin'd, and thereby seem not to have in themselves any certain state. But however it will be sufficient to our purpose if under so changeable an outside, we find that she hath constantly preserv'd her most essential part, which is the art of perswasion, unalter'd: For all the Authors both ancient and modern, who treat of this subject, do conclude that perswasion is the end of Eloquence; though they do not agree upon the means that must be us'd in the attaining that end: they being so different, according to the several methods that men have invented to affect the heart: and yet this must be known, if we will be sure not to mistake, in the comparison we are pursuing. As

As therefore Eloquence must persuade, so must Rhetorick seek out the meanes how it may be done; the first finds materials, and the latter must set them a work. But let us consider a little what it is to persuade? *Quintilian* makes his *Apollodorus* say, it is a rendring ones self master of the soul of the Auditour, and a leading of him as it were in triumph wheresoever we please. This definition, as figurative as it is, is very natural, for perswasion is a kind of captivating of the soul of a man, it is a victory over his opinion, a fetching over of his will to our own side, a mastery gain'd over his heart, and a despoiling him of what he holds most dear, that is his liberty. What can a man imagine to be more great or glorious, then this? Or how inconsiderable is all the power of force, and authority, compar'd to this of perswasion, whose Empire extends it self even over the heart.

It

#### 14 The eloquence of Demost.

It was for this reason doubtless, that *Xenophon* makes *Socrates* observe, that Persuasion is more powerful than even violence it self.

It is then no wonder, considering the natural inclination all men have to govern, if an art that so much enlarges our Empire, has had so many disciples who desir'd to learn, or so many masters who pretend to teach it. All books are full of precepts about this ambitious science, neither was there ever so much writ about any of the other parts of learning, as about this of persuasion: & that I may not engage my self in a tedious search into all those who have treated of it, I shall only mention six of the Greeks, and two of the Romans, who have been famous above all others in this matter, and from whom, all that have written since, have either copied, or collected all they have. The Greeks who have written of it, are *Plato* in diverse places of his works, *Aristotle*

in his books of Rhetorick; *Demetrius Phalerens* the disciple of *Aristophanes*, in his treatise of Elocution; *Hermogenes* in his of invention; and in his Ideas; *Dionysius Halicarnassens* in his art; and in his construction of words; and *Longinus* in the forementioned treatise of the lofty way of speaking. The Romans are, *Cicero* in his Book *de Oratore*; and *Quintilian* in his institutions; but because *Aristotle* is he of all the rest, who seems best to establish and draw things into the most regular & exact method; I shall adhere to him in making my reflections upon this universal art of perswasion; whose nature and origine I am now pursuing.

I confess *Plato's* manner of writing is lofty; and his designs noble; which he carries on to the end with admirable order and method; and that he is much less fantastick, then some of the *Aristotelians* would persuade us in these latter times; and the

the truth is, he proposes to himself  
 greater things in all arts, than those  
 who have writ after him; and his  
 more elevated thoughts do plainly  
 discover the more than ordinary fa-  
 miliarity he had with the Egyp-  
 tians. For 'tis from them, who were  
 the first learned men in the world,  
 that all sciences descended to us;  
 and as their apprehensions of  
 things, were more conformable to  
 the simplicity of nature, not as yet  
 corrupted by a multitude of different  
 opinions, nor bias'd by the par-  
 tiality of divers sects; so doubtless  
 was their insight more clear, their  
 notions less abstracted, and their  
 knowledge less limited.

- Socrates, whom he makes his Heroe,  
 and his universal example and model  
 in all sciences, and whom he repre-  
 sents speaking all those precepts he  
 gives the world, does very well ex-  
 press what he would give us an Idea  
 of: and this insinuating way he takes

the

of

of setting out his chief character, is very neat and handsome; but while he endeavours to make him in his discourses appear natural, easy & complaisant, he represents him as one that doubts of the very things he pretends to teach, by his entangling questions. Not but that his reasonings are forcible enough, and command their minds to whom he speaks; but yet whosoever reads his works, is often forced to make conclusions of his own, because this author is too unresolv'd, and leaves them without concluding any thing himself. Men are more benefited by his Scholar *Aristotle*, who is more instructive, more ingenuous; and sticks closer to his purpose. *Plato's* way of beginning with commendations, of that he intends to find fault with in the end, would be proper I confess in a Negotiation, where one subtle Polititian designs to overreach another, but *Aristotels* being more plain, is fitter for



## 18 The Eloquence of Demost.

the Schools ; for those that teach must be positive in their assertions. I shall not stand to characterize the other four Greek Authors who have writ of Eloquence, though I agree that *Demetrius* is an author, that judges as discerningly as any of the Antients, that *Hermogenes* seems one of the most exactly methodical, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* one of the most learn'd, ( though his art be less instructive than his construction of words ) and *Longinus* very judicious : but being Elocution is the bound, which they pretend not to go beyond, and of which *Demetrius* meddles only with the more smooth part, *Hermogenes* with its different Characters, *Dionysius* with its ornaments, and graceful harmony, and *Longinus* with its majesty ; none of them have bin particular in defining the nature of that persuasion which we now spake of. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* his true have done

done more towards it, but seeing they treat of it only in the same method with *Aristotle*, and have indeed only explain'd his meaning in it; I shall stick only to him; in the clearing of the essential constitutive parts of perswasion, the rule I intend to make use of, in measuring the Eloquence of *Cicero*, and distinguishing it from that of *Demosthenes*.

• We perswade (saith *Aristotle*) by the credit we get in mens thoughts. There are three things which concur to the acquiring of this same credit, and which are as it were the springs, whence flows perswasion. These three things are the deserts of the speaker, the favourable disposition of the Audience, and the manner of speaking. - And seeing the whole art of Rhetorick may be redu-

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ ἐδιδόχμασι καὶ πιθανοί. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου προερχομένων πείσων τέλει ἐστὶ, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀκούοντων, ὡς πρὸς ἀνεργάτην διατίθηται πρὸς ὅτι αὐτῇ τοῦ λόγου. l. 1 Rhet. c. 2.

## 20 The Eloquence of Demost.

ced to those three heads, it will not  
thence be impossible to draw a scheme  
by w<sup>ch</sup> we may in some method judge  
of these two orators. That we may  
then begin with their personal de-  
sert, we will endeavour to dive into  
their heart and thoughts; for all  
personal worth, which consists ei-  
ther in our abilities, or manners,  
springs thence. And seeing nothing  
does conduce more to perswading,  
than the opinion we raise in the au-  
dience of our ability and honesty, we  
will enquire what portion of these  
*Demosthenes* and *Cicero* possess; and  
what impressions they were capable  
of making therewith in the minds of  
men: and first of their abilities.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*The abilities of these two Authors compar'd.*

**D***Emosthenes* having lost his Father whilest he was yet young, fell into the hands of Guardians, that too much consulted their interest; who partly out of negligence, and partly out of avarice, took not that care of his education which they ought. So that he learn'd scarce any of those things, which it is the care of parents generally to fix in the minds of children, when they first begin to enter upon study. His Mother too gave way to this neglect, through her overmuch fondness of him; besides that he was of so weak and tender a constitution of body, that his unhealthful condition could not permit that he should be set hard to his studies. As soon as he was sixteen years old, which is the  
time

## 22 The Eloquence of Demost.

time for learning of Rhetorick, instead of sending him to the School of *Isocrates* who was then in most esteem, he was placed with the Orator *Aseus*, because that as his reputation was less then the others, so were the charges they were thereby put to; and it was there that he got those ill habits, w<sup>ch</sup> he himself tells us he afterwards so difficultly broke himself of.

*Cicero* had the advantage of being incomparably better educated then *Demosthenes*; for his parents having discovered in him very good naturall parts, and an early dawning of those excellent qualities he afterward was master of, took an extraordinary care of him. But though at five years old, when other children are not capable of applying themselves to any thing, he discover'd a great inclination to study, his Father thought good rather to keep him back a while, then to egge him on: at which *Cicero* seem'd not a little dissatisfied, and impa-

impatient, especially when he saw some of his companions goe to Schol to one *Plautus*, who was then in vogue for a good master: yet his father was much to be commended for this restraint, seeing the too early setting of children to study, by striving to ripen the understanding before the due time, may weaken nature, but will never bring her to perfection. And I find also both these great persons, who attain'd to that perfection all the world knowes, began not to set themselves to their studies till pretty late.

*Cicero's* Father and friends judg'd, the Greek tongue the fittest thing they could set him to at first, and therefore made him begin with that. All the able men that came to Rome between the time of the Consulship of M.

*Continebar hominum doctissimorum autoritate, qui existimabant Græcis litteris ali melius ingenia. Epist. ad M. Tit.*

*Scevola*, and the end of *Sylla's* Dictatorship, were his masters. I mean that *Phedrus* he commends so much in his Epistles, that *Philo* the Academic and Scholar to *Clitomachus*, whom he mentions in his book *De natura deorum*, *Molo* the Rhodian, whose Eloquence was so much talk'd of, and under whom he studied two severall times, and a certain *Sisilian* call'd *Diodotus*, a Great Geometrician, of whom he learn't Logick, and whom he speaks of in his Tusculan questions. Thus at the age of seventeen or eighteen years he had ran through the almost infinite extent of all the Sciences, which might any way be usefull to him, in the acquisition of his passionately beloved Eloquence.

As soon as he had master'd the Greeke tongue, he gave himself to Poetry, unto which in his younger years he had a great inclination. At

*Athen. l. 3. Strab. l. 10. Hist. Pausan. in descrip.*

fix.



sixteen years old he wrote the Poeme of *Glaukus Pontius*, in imitation of *Eschylus*; & the following year, that he might better understand Astronomy, he translated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which some considerable fragments are come to our hands. He translated likewise not long after *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Protagoras*, the *Oeconomicks* of *Xenophon*, and divers other pieces. *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very tender years, he discover'd a natural capacity for all sciences, such as *Plato* requires in the Philosopher whom he describes; who ought to be (sayes he) *a lover of all kind of knowledge*. It was on this manner *Cicero* past his youth, till his twenty sixth year, at which time he began to speak in publick.

But as *Tully* on this side so happily made use of his naturall parts, and the care his friends took of him; so on

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the other *Demosthenes* found no small oppositions to that thirst of glory his ambition excited in him. For besides the base avarice and cheating tricks of his Guardians ; who were nothing sorry to see him loose his time , that thereby he might remaine in obscurity, (as tis generally the lot of ignorance to do) and so probably not be in any capacity of bringing them into any trouble after his minority; he found yet greater obstacles both in his inward faculties, and in the outward imperfections of his body, to his ardent desires of becoming eloquent. But what nature did for *Cicero*, endeavor perform'd in behalf of *Demosthenes*. This desire in him was so violent, that he found no obstacle able to withstand it, nor any difficulty but what it easily overcame; so that it was nothing but ambition which fashion'd him, and made him conquer the evil inclination of an age , which sought after nothing but plea-

pleasures, and that in Athens, where they were authoriz'd by the ill example of a people wholly given to luxury and debauchery. And this made him prefer the conversation of *Theophrastus* and *Xenocrates*, and the *Platonists*, before *Phrynes*.

Nay he imposed upon himself a necessity of retiring for some time from the converse of the world, which to effect, he made use of a very odd expedient, which was to shave half his head, that by reason of the shame of that deformity, he might be oblig'd to hide himself for some moneths. One may well say of him, that he was content to be buryed alive, or at least that he would not live for any other end, but that he might apply himself to the study of Eloquence, unto which he had devoted all his thoughts. He was about sixteen years old, when he began to study it, and this passion was first exci-

## 28 The Eloquence of Demost.

excited in him, upon the extraordinary applause, which he saw given to *Callistratus*, for some cause he had pleaded: with which *Demosthenes* was so taken, that he immediatly abandon'd all his other studies, that he might wholly apply himself to that of Eloquence. This retirement and all the other hardships he underwent, which *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Libanius*, *Lucian*, *Photius*, and many others mention so much to his advantage, were evident signs of this his violent inclination. And indeed what was there he did not to gratify it? Can one imagine any thing more odd, then to goe and declame upon the Sea Shore, as he did, that by hearing the Roarings of its Waves, he might use himself not to be disturb'd at the tumultuous commotions of the multitude, and the rude noise of the rabble? What is there more toilsome then to speak loud, and with vehemence

mence, climbing up to the top of some craggy steep places, as he did, that thereby he might strengthen his voice; his tongue was so unwieldy, that he could not pronounce certain letters without much trouble; which imperfection that he might breake himself of, he us'd to declame with his mouth full of pibbles. He also practis'd speaking to a lookinglasse; thereby to acquire a gracefull aire, and becoming action when he spoke. Nay he had recourse even to a Player who was then famous, that he might learn of him to pronounce well, and to sute his expressions with all proper externall ornaments of gesture; and by these laborious practices and an unwearied perseverance it was, that at last he came to surmount all those impediments in his speech, and other imperfections, that so much disgusted the *Athenians*, the first time he spoke in Publick.

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Tis then no wonder that *Cicero* finding none of these obstacles to struggle with, enlarged his knowledge to a far wider extent than *Demosthenes*; the latter of w<sup>ch</sup> being naturally very eager and ambitious, and seeing Eloquence the only way he had to become great, employed all his study in its acquisition. So that at the age of eighteen, he began to plead against his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, to constrain them by law to give him an account of his estate: whereas *Cicero* letting himself loose, and giving himself a full carriere into the universall pursuit of all Sciences, ran through them with an indefatigable industry; and so replenish'd his mind with all kind of knowledge, which could either perfect or adorn it.

He fail'd not however at nineteen years old, to be very constant and assiduous in hearing the Orations *P. Sulpitius* made all the year he was  
Tri-

Tribune, that by the imitation of so great a pattern, he might perfect himself in the practise of Eloquence; for he was the man, who was most esteem'd of at that time in Rome, as to what concern'd Eloquence. But he himself began not to speak in Publick, till he had attain'd to the age of seven and twenty, which he did in so remarkable a manner, as made the whole Commonwealth take notice of him. All the most famous Lawyers of the Court fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refus'd to undertake *Roscius's* case, who was accus'd of Parricide; when young *Cicero*, with a confidence becoming his age, undertook his defence against the Dictator's favorite; The good successe of which, prov'd the first step toward that glory he afterwards arriv'd to. But it made too much noise, not to be look't upon by *Sylla* with a jealous eye, and by *Chrysogonus* with a revengefull one; for this freed-man  
that

that ruled him who had made himself Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill offices he did him, a persecution which ended not but with the Dictators life.

So being forc'd to leave Rome, to avoid the storm he saw ready to break upon him, he wisely spread a rumour, that he did it only by the advice of his Physicians, who told him, it would be much for his health, to interrupt his study's, and goe travell for some time. He made use of this pretence for his retirement, least he should seem to betray any signs of fear, or inconstancy, which might possibly have taken off from the good opinion all men had conceived of him for his last action. Thus he staid some time at *Athens*, were finding himself free and disengaged from all other businesse, he acquainted himself with the different opinions of the severall sects  
of



About the same time he likewise  
met with *Apollonius Molo* in Rhodes,  
D who

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who had formerly been his master in Italy: this Orator having heard him repeate some piece in Greek, because he understood not Latine very well, spoke that sentence to him, which we find recorded by <sup>a</sup> Plutarch, Goe Cicero (said he) and ravish from us Greeks the only thing was left us to glory in, our wit and Eloquence, that thou mayest transfer it to the Romans, who have already bereft us of that reputation we once had in arms.

He learnt in this voyage Astronomy, Geometry, the old and new Philosophy, also the heathen Divinity, and the lawes & customs of Athens, and all the rest of Greece. Diadotus taught him the mystery of Pythagoras his numbers, and his System of Musick. He studied the stoicks Moralls under Philo and Clitomachus. Antiochus, who in opposition to Carneades stood up against the new Academics, instructed him in the opinions

<sup>a</sup> Plut. in the life of Cicero.

of the Ancients, and *Zeno & Phedrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he since has so much blam'd in his writings. And at last after the death of *Sylla* he return'd to Rome, with a mind enrich'd w<sup>th</sup> all sorts of knowledg, and a body restored to a perfect health, by the exercise he had us'd abroad in his travells.

His friend *Pomponius Atticus*, and the other learn'd men of that age, with whom he kept a continuall correspondence, were no little helps to him in the acquisition of all these sciences, which it is hard to conceive how one man should understand, especially in such perfection as he did every one of them. But as Eloquence was that for which he had most inclination, so did he more carefully set himself to it then any of the rest, and neglected not the least thing, which might any way further him in it; and above all he took a speciall care, to form the mo-

36 The Character of Demost.  
dulation of his voice, the air of  
his face, his actions and gestures,  
which *Quintilian* calls the Elegance  
of the body, as should most become  
him; and to that end, he frequently  
consulted the famous Actor *Roscine*,  
that from him he might learn that ad-  
mirable art of pronunciation, which  
many times puts a value upon the  
most ordinary trifles, and which is  
the very soule of all things that are  
to be spoke in Publick.

It was on this manner that this  
great soule flew at all: whereas *De-  
mosthenes* whose desires after know-  
ledg were more confin'd, applied  
himself wholly to the reading of *Thu-  
cydides*, (whom he made almost his  
whole study) that so he might get  
the stile and way of writing of that  
Historian. And truly I wonder not  
that *Demosthenes* chose him as his pat-  
tern, seeing as yet nothing had been  
given to the world so perfect as  
the works of that Author *Hera-  
dotus*.

*dotus* Indeed who went before him, has a more pleasing way of writing by reason of, the great variety of the things he treats of, and his gracefull manner of expressing them: for he not confining himself strictly to the truth, it was easier for him to affect, and please his readers, whereas the other on the contrary could not dispense with any thing which was opposite to it, but kept it as an inviolable law never to recede there from. Notwithstanding *Thucydides* though he design only to instruct us, is pleasant enough too: his narrations are plain and close, but cleare likewise and naturall, and that plainnesse hath alway's in it something sublime and noble, which always maintains vit selfe by the propriety of the expressions. So that it was in imitation of *Thucydides*, that *Demosthenes* fram'd his stile, which that he might the more exa-

*Rerum gestarum prominciator sincerus Thucydides grandis etiam fuit. Cic. in Brut.*

Atly

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Ally follow, he wrote his Works eight times over with his own hand. Yet one may easily perceive by the severall different way's he takes in his Orations, that he had likewise search'd into other mens works, and that it had been his good fortune to hear *Plato*, with whom no body could converse without becoming wise. And the opinion of *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian* is not groundlesse, where they tell us, that through the meanes of a learn'd Sicilian call'd *Callias*, he came secretly to the sight of some of the works of *Isocrates* and *Alcidamas*, whom *Plutarch* highly esteems. But whether it were so or no<sup>b</sup>, tis agreed that *Cicero* was more happy then *Demosthenes*, both as to advantages of nature & education; that he likewise spent more time in the universall study of all sciences, both in reading *Plato*, *Ari-*

<sup>a</sup> *Luc. in Dem.*

<sup>b</sup> *Cura plus in illo, in hoc natura. Fab. L. 10. C. 1.*

*Stoile*, and all that wrote after them,  
 which had any relation to, Elo-  
 quence; and also conversing with  
 the most famous men of his time,  
 whom he met with in his travels:  
 and that consequently his abilities  
 and knowledge were doubtlesse great-  
 er then those of *Demosthenes*. This  
 ability is the first part of that perso-  
 nall worth; which as we before ob-  
 served, is so necessary to them, who  
 would have any force in perswa-  
 ding; for the more understanding a  
 man hath, the more are we inclin'd  
 to beleive what he tells us.

#### CHAP. V.

*Of the second quality requisite to  
 perswading, which is Integrity.*

**T**HE second part of personall  
 worth is integrity, whose power  
 in perswading is far greater then that  
 of the former. For seeing those who  
 are



40 *On the Power of the most.*  
are persuaded to any thing by another, doe submit themselves to him that perswades, they will certainly much rather doe so to a man of known integrity, then to one suspected. The most mistrustful that are, have a deference to such; & the good opinion we have of a man, conduces to his being credited, whilst every one thinks the better of himself, for being of the same judgement with a vertuous person; which gave occasion to that excellent saying of Aristotle, *Among all those things, which make a man believed, none has so much power as the manners of the speaker.*

These two Orators had acquir'd this vertue in so eminent a manner, by their good conduct in all their actions, that the people had a perfect belief of whatever they said. Their advice was hearken'd to as the most profitable; they were lookt upon as the Publick Oracles; and Tutelar Geniue's of their country,

try, and that because every one was satisfied, that they never spoke, but to establish the authority of the laws, and to the advantage of the state. The truth is, they were both, persons of much honour and integrity, and the frequent mention they made of the Gods in their Orations, made them be esteem'd very pious and Religious, which has a great influence over the minds of the people, because it is a rule and measure to all other vertues.

And besides this, they prescrib'd themselves the use of such popular principles as refer'd to the publick good; and because they professed to aim at nothing, but the glory and advantage of their Country; they alway's found the minds of the people, ready dispos'd to give them a favorable attention, and that general esteem they had acquired gave them that authority, wherewith they spoke. This is what may be said of  
their

their reputation in generall. I shall now proceed to discourse of what each of them had in particular.

# CHAP. VI.

## *Of the Integrity of Demosthenes!*

**D***emosthenes* was naturally inclin'd to justice, which he very much fortified by an exact morality & the advantage of a severe temper, so that he could not in the management of affairs, make use of these indirect way's which the greatest Politicians commonly practice. Justice, honour, and the Publick good, were alway's the considerations which most sway'd him in his proceedings. The Philosopher *Panetius* assures us, that in all Publick affaires his maxime was, that *a Convenient and Pleasurable good must yeeld to that which is honest.*

These his Moralls appear in all

*a Plut. in the life of Demosth.*

parts

parts of his workes, but especially in his *Philippicks*, his *Olinthiacks*, in the Oration about priviledges, in that for *Aristocrates*, and in that of the Crowne; and if this last be well examin'd, one shall easily find, that his zeal for the Publick good, his submissiveve resignation to the people, and the devotion he seems to have for the good of the state, are that which makes up the beauty of the Oration, which may justly be term'd the most perfect antiquity ever boasted of, and which Cicero styles the rule of Eloquence. In a word he neglected nothing that might acquire him the reputation of an upright man, wherein he succeeded by the frequent characters he made in his Orations of a good Patriot & Citizen, as it appears in his third *Olinthiack*. For in Publick actions, the more severe the discourses of Morality are, the better they are entertain'd. And in my opinion an Orator hath no such  
advanta-

advantageous way of recommending himself, as by making a strict and severe profession of vertue.

But nothing did more contribute to the credit of Demosthenes, then the liberty he took of declaiming against Philip. Indeed what could be more glorious for a mean Citizen of Athens, then the courage he shew'd in declaring himself against a King, that had already the greater party in that Republique. Neither the power, the armies, the threats, or promises of that Prince could ever work upon him; and that I may use Plutarchs expression, *the glittering of all the Macedonian gold could never dazzle him.* He was ever deaf to all the proffers were made to corrupt him, which gave occasion to Antipater, one of Alexander's successors to say, *that if any of his Officers had been as uncorrupt as Demosthenes, he had*

<sup>a</sup> *Μακεδονικὴν χρυσὴν δολιχὰς ἐν οὐτὸν Δεμόσθενε.*

<sup>b</sup> *Lucien in his commendation of Demosth.*

been

been invincible. That w<sup>ch</sup> this Prince  
 adds, does yet more perfectly repre-  
 sent the vertue of this great Orator.  
 It was the only love of his country,  
 which made him undertake the Gov-  
 ernment of the State, & he made that  
 the object of his vertue, which others  
 doe of their interest. What would he  
 give, said he, for such a man, that he  
 might be advis'd by him in my present  
 affaires, and heare him who would  
 freely speak his minde in the midst of  
 the fawnings of flatterers? Such a sin-  
 cere counsellour it is that I want to dis-  
 sect me amongst all these court dissim-  
 lations. This Prince who had no-  
 thing of Alexander in him, but his  
 boundless ambition thought he  
 should soon have made himself master  
 of the world, had he had so faith-  
 full a Minister as Demosthenes, and  
 that because he could neither be over-  
 reacht corrupted nor surpris'd. And  
 indeed what was it he did not to gain

and Ennius in the fortification of place.

him

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him? But *Demosthenes* out of a generosity not to be parallel'd, prefer'd without debating the case—even death it self to all *Antipater's* favour: and swallowing the poison in the presence of *Archias*, who was urging him to yeeld himself up to the conquerour of all Greece, Goe, said he, *and tell thy master, that Demosthenes will in nothing be beholding to the Usurper of his country.* Such was the integrity of this great man, who was so remarkable an instance of Pagan vertue, as may farther appear by what *Lucian* has writ in his commendation.

CHAP. VII.

*The Integrity of Cicero.*

**T**He integrity of *Cicero* was no less valued at Rome, than that of *Demosthenes* had been at Athens, and to this reputation of his we may attribute the most remarkable passages of his life; for it is certain, that his Eloquence



quence alone with all his power, had never gain'd him the suffrages of the people to make him Consul, had it not bin back'd very powerfully by the opinion every one had of his integrity; which as it rais'd him to honour, so it likewise objected him to envy.

*Clodius* was the first who could not endure the splendor of his vertue, and made his great reputation an instrument wherewith to destroy him: for seeing him so zealous for the publick good, he look'd upon him as a main obstacle to his wicked designs; to wch purpose as soon as he was Tribune, he made use of all the authority and power of his office to get him banisht Rome: he spar'd no violence to procure his remove, whom he fear'd as a severe Censurer of his actions. One need only to read the Epistles *Tully* wrote to his brother, and the rest of his friends, to discover the sincerity of his sentiments, the disinterested thoughts of his heart, the up-  
right-

## 4. The Eloquence of Demost.

rightness of his principles, and his unfeign'd zeal for the good of his country. What resolution did he discover against the young Nobility of Rome, whom ambition and debauchery had engag'd in the conspiracy with *Cataline*? Those that find fault with him for boasting too much in his Orations, of this great action, by which he preserv'd the common wealth, have more reason to ascribe it, to the great love he had for his country, than to his vanity: for it is certain that without the constancy & resolution which he discover'd in the whole course of that business, Rome had been expos'd to the fury of the Conspirators, who to raise their fortunes, which were desperate in peaceful times, thought of nothing but embroyling the Common-wealth. Neither is there any reason to imagine that *Cicero* in declaring for *Pompey*, when Rome began to be divided into parties by that civil war, did

it

it with any other designs but what were vertuous, and tended to the publick good. For that party did not appear to be more powerful, but more just: and it lay in his own power to have made his advantage of the prof-  
fers *Cesar* made him by *Trebatius*, if he would have accepted of a command in his army; but he would not forsake the common-wealth: & we know that took *Pompey's* side.

What can those that accuse him of want of spirit, ascribe that courage to, w<sup>ch</sup> he did evidently discover in his opposition to *Marc Antony*, whose ill intentions were sufficiently manifested, by that garland he presented *Cesar* with, at the solemnity of the *Lupercalia*? I believe *Brutus*, who was witness of that action, scarce knew what he did in saving *Antony's* life, when they destroy'd *Cesar*: for had he consented to his death as *Cassius*

<sup>a</sup> *Civilibus bellis neque spe neque metu declinatus Ciceronis animus, quo minus optimis partibus, id est Reipub. se jungeret. Quint. l. 2. c. 1.*

E

desired

desired, the Common-wealth had recover'd her liberty. However nothing is more clear than the zeal *Cicero* shew'd for his country against this ambitious man, who thought on nothing but how he might raise himself by unlawful wayes. Not that *Tully* did want means of being reconcil'd to him, and those much to his own advantage, if he could have resolv'd to play the Politician; but he had too much sence of his duty to have to do with those practices w<sup>ch</sup> ended in the ruin of the, publick liberty. Neither had he ever thought of raising *Augustus*, had he not judg'd him a fit Person to oppose the design of *M. Antony*. And that Prince had so great an opinion of *Cicero's* concern for his country, that he gave a publick testimony of the esteem he had for him, and such a one as cannot be suspected, since it was made some time after his death. For having once surprized a young relation of his striving to  
hide

hide a certain book under his coat, he ask'd him what it was; the boy was unwilling to shew it, for fear of displeasing him, because it was Cicero's works, whom he had suffer'd to be proscrib'd not long before. But the Emperour having taken and read some passages in it, gave it him again saying, *Read this book carefully child, for the author of it was a very able man, and a great lover of his country.* And though out of a love to the Publick w<sup>ch</sup> this good man had imprinted in his heart, he much disapprov'd of *Julius Cesar's* designs upon the sovereign authority, however by insensible degrees usurp'd; and had sufficiently declar'd this dislike to his friends; yet *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not acquaint him with their purpose to dispatch him, not out of any suspicion they had of his fidelity, which they had no reason to doubt; but because they judg'd

• *Adversus viros et periculis.* Plus in Cicero.

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his good nature would never have consented to so violent a resolution.

It was not only on these publick occasions, in which vanity has often more share than integrity, that *Cicero* approved himself: he was no less exemplary honest in private concerns; for he was a perfect friend, a good father. He lov'd his children, and deserved more kindness from his wife, then she shew'd him in his disgrace. Nor was it so much for his Sons sake, though he tenderly lov'd him, that he compos'd that admirable treatise of Offices, as to give the publick an Idea of his Moralls, which were so little allied to any thing of interest. And the truth is, there was never any thing writ in that kind, that was more strickt, especially if it be considered that it was compos'd in a time when there was no other conscience known but honour. *Cicero* had likewise the art of ordering all he did so, as that it in some  
man-

manner serve his Eloquence, which is never so powerful as when conjoyned with reputation. And seeing nothing is so likely to assure it us as a uniforme course of life, suited to the rank we hold in the world, and maintained with that constancy, which our condition requires, Cicero had made this an unviolable law, and a rule to all his actions: the neglect whereof, is the rock whereon most of those who profess to speak in publick are split; for they either do not apply themselves to the search of those things which become their condition, & according to w<sup>ch</sup> their life is to be conducted, or else when they have found it, they have not constancy enough to make it good. But though it be difficult to make our practice answer to the severity of our principles, yet Cicero minded nothing more, than to be the first who should practise what he taught to o-

*Decorum nihil est profecto quam aequabilitas universae vitae tum singularum actionum. Cic. 1. Off.*



thers, and maintain'd in all things, not only the dignity of his Place, but that evenness and constancy which is observable in the actions of vertuous men.

# CHAP. VIII.

*Wherein the Integrity of these two Oratours was most assaul-  
red.*

**D**emosthenes was in that more unhappy than he, for he gave his enemies leave to accuse him, and that not without some reason, of having receiv'd twenty talents, and a Golden peice of plate of great value, from an officer of *Alexander's*, who being in disgrace for not having faithfully managed the King's revenues, had retir'd to Athens. This present made the people suspect the integrity of him that receiv'd it, because it came from one who

who had bin a creature of the declar'd enemy of their Commonwealth. Hereupon *Dinarchus* stirr'd up by the enemies of *Demosthenes*, accus'd him to the people of bribery; and such was his misfortune that they would not heare his justification; so the respect every body had for him, was chang'd into contempt; and after a tiresome inprisonment, he was shamefully banish'd his country. *Plutarch* who so much commends him on all other occasions, can find no means of justifying him in this, although *Pausanias*, whom I had rather follow, hath endeavoured to maintain his innocence, and make this accusation pass for a calumnie. Not but that *Cicero* had the misfortune as well as he of being banish'd, but the cause of his exile was not so infamous; for though the Senate consented to it, yet was their consent forc'd by the violence of *Clodius* the Tribune, and the

• *Pau* G. in Corinth.

practises

practices of *Piso* and *Gabinus*, whose Consulship became odious thereby, and was indeed nothing but an outrage and prostitution of laws. But that which *Cicero* resented most in his misfortune, & w<sup>ch</sup> he laid a little too much to heart, was not so much to see himself thereby laid aside from all publick employments, as that he was forsaken by his best friends, and chiefly by *Pompey* and *Cesar*, whom he most esteem'd, and who had always pretended a respect for him; and that so lively description of his grief, which he made on this occasion, was an effect rather of his tenderness of affection, than any resentment proceeding from ambition.

The truth is he was pittied by the people, and so was not the other, because his reputation was not so spotless; *Demosthenes* defended himself indeed against the temptations of the Macedonian gold offer'd by *Philip*, w<sup>ch</sup> was the Athenians sworn enemy, but

but could not resist the Persian, presented by *Darius* an Allie to the Commonwealth; whereas *Cicero* on the contrary maintain'd his integrity in a far higher degree, in refusing the presents and bribes both of friends and enemies; because he knew well that presents, from whomsoever they are sent, do make the fidelity of a publick person suspected; who ought never to think of measuring his duty by his interest. And on this account this great man, being Br<sup>o</sup> consul of Cilicia, refus'd the presents sent him by the Cappadocian King, & those of the Sicilians when he was Pretor of Sicily, though both the one and the other were the Romans allies. And his spirit was so great, that he thought he could not receive any thing from any body, without some way submitting himself unto the donor. Neither can any great person, whose life and actions are always expos'd to publick view, be too scrupulous

pulous in their conduct, or too curious in what concerns their duty, if they have a mind to preserve their reputation.

It is objected to *Cicero*, that having commended and praised *Cesar* so much in his publick Oration, he abus'd him so intollerably in some of his private letters, which was very unhandsome, and a baseness not to be pardon'd. It is true that *Cicero* has spoke very differently of *Cesar*, in whom he observed both good and bad qualities, and therefore he commended the good, and blam'd the bad; neither did he ever mistake one for the other, but it was his prudence made him find fault in secret with what deserv'd it, and commend in publick what was praiseworthy. And when it shall be consider'd that it was only to save the lives of *Marcellus* and *Ligarius*, that he did so freely bestow his praises on *Cesar*, that alone will sufficiently vindicate him

in it. For what is it one would not doe to save ones freind? And it may be likewise lawful sometimes, to praise those that do not merit, if it be but to incite them thereby to deserving actions.

That which is objected against him about a house, belonging to *Crassus* at the foot of the Mount Palatine, which he bought as was pretended with a summe of money, presented him by a criminal call'd *Sylla*, to purchase his favour, has so little ground that it deserves not to be confuted; since *A. Gellius*, who relates the story, brings nothing to confirme, nor any circumstance which should make it seem probable.

That which *Brutus* reproaches him with in his letters, is much more specious. That man that intended so well, and with whom the remaining Liberty died, accuses him of having been the first that ador'd the young *Octavius*, and that he had indirectly

con-

contributed towards raising him up to the throne, from whence he had so lately cast down the former Usurper. Nevertheless if one will seriously reflect upon the condition of the state of that time, the factions wherewith it began to be then shaken, the ill intentions of *Marc Antony* and *Lepidus*, and finally the necessity there was of giving a Master to the people, who among so many different pretensions would no longer hear of any lawful authority, we shall find that *Cicero* did very prudently in striving to ruine all the parties that were then on foot, by raising this young man, into whom he hop'd he might put such principles, as might be for the good of the state; and also to regulate by his counsels, that authority he had given him: hoping he should always be hearkend to by him, who was so lately his crea-

*Non dominum fugisse sed amicis rem dominum qua-*  
*sisse videtur Brut. ad Cicer.*

ture.



ture. So that, if *Cicero* was faulty in this matter, it was only in confiding too much in the power he thought he might retain over the spirit of *Octavius*. But there is nothing in which great Persons are more mistaken, then in the presumption they have, of being able to turn & wind others which way they will.

This error might well be thought pardonable in *Cicero*, at such a time when he was in greater reputation then ever: for upon the new's of *Antony's* defeat, the people went and took him by force out of his house, and carried him in triumph to the Capitol, out of the belieif they had, that business had thriv'd only by his good counsells; and from that time he began to be look'd upon in Rome, as the upholder of the Common-wealth, & as the only person, in whom the authority of the state rested, being now disorder'd by the death of both

\* *Sustinuisse gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster. Brutus ad Atticum.*

the

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the Consuls which were kill'd at *Modena*. And it is certain, that at that time all things were done by his advice: and that never any private person was seen, who had so absolute an authority in his country. And had he not been very scrupulous in things that related to his duty, the Occasion might have tempted him, to set up for himself in so favourable a conjunction of affaires; when the weakness of all parties not yet form'd, the confusion that possess'd all mens minds, the esteem the Senate had of his worth, and the good will of the people, seem'd equally to conspire to raise him; so that if he could not have bin master himself, he might at least have rais'd whom he pleas'd; yet he did nothing but what he thought profitable for his fellow citizens, and becoming his own glory; and it may be it was out of too much care

*Nec in Tullio de fuisse video in nulla parte civis optimi voluntatem; testimonio est actus nobilissime consulatus, integerrime provincia administrata, repudiatus viginti-  
vixatus. Quint. l. 2. c. 1.*

and circumspection, that he gave occasion to those fatal conferences between *Lepidus*, *Octavius* and *Marc Anthony* at *Modena*, where soon after was contriv'd that bloody project of the *Triumvirate*, which cost the Senate more blood, then had been spilt on the plains of *Pharsalia*; the head of *Cicero* was the price of the reconciliation of *Octavius* to *Marc Anthony*; whilst he minding nothing but his own greatness, forgot both his benefactor, and the instructions he had given him; and sign'd his death, because that he well foresaw that his virtue would never yeild to an usurping Tyranny.

The success that *Cicero* had in his warlike expeditions in *Cilicia*, and on the banks of *Iffus*, and neere the mountain *Amanus* against the *Parthians*, sufficiently declares that he had more courage then most learned men have imagin'd, and that he was more valiant even then *Demosthenes*, who

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who being once upon service in a small party at Cheronefus against the forces of *Philip*, and having on the first onset seen the first ranks fall, he was so terrify'd, that he betook himself to flight amongst the foremost, and was so distracted with fear, that he mistook a bush which caught hold of his coat for an enemy, and in that takeing cry'd out for quarter. But on the other side, he dy'd much more couragiously then *Cicero*, going to his death with a quiet compos'd countenance, and without much concern, whereas *Cicero* discover'd a great desire to avoid his. Not but that he is unjustly accus'd of cowardize, upon some letters of his to his brother *Quintus*, and his friend *Atticus*, wherein he betray'd too much weakness, and too freely layd open his thoughts to them, from whom he could hide nothing. But if we consider that there are many things that passe in the  
souls



them; and concealing, none to self, passes for a great virtue amongst Politicians. This was not Cicero's way, who discover'd himself without reserve, and always thought it becoming to appear in ones own shape without any disguise; and this he recommends as a precept to his Orator.

### CHAR. IX.

*Their other personal Qualities compar'd.*

**H**AVING taken notice of the difference that was to be found, both in the abilities and integrity of Demosthenes and Cicero; it should seem that nothing else that is remarkable could be added about their personal worth. But yet each of them had some other particular qualities, which however less essential to their Eloquence, did never the less much contribute to the reputation they gain'd. The advantage which consists in the

agrea-

agreeableness of the Orators behaviour one would think should be the most inconsiderable; and yet we find it is important enough to him; and *Quintilian*, who forgets nothing which may conduce to his perfection, teaches that the care of his deportment is no small advantage towards gaining the favour of the Audience.

For if to perswade 'tis necessary that we please, we ought to take care to do it in every thing; and it is especially requisite to have nothing that is disgusting in ones person. In this *Cicero* may be said to surpass *Demosthenes*; & it may be more than he needed; So that no comparison can be made between them in this case, without allowing *Demosthenes* a little more care of himself than he had, and *Cicero* a little less.

*Admiranda audientium dilectio et affectus, ipsi judicem componit. Instit. l. 2. c. 3.*



For it is observ'd that *Tully* was very neat in his cloaths, and in all his dress even to affectation; that he lov'd perfumes, and a splendid table. And as he was very pleasant in conversation, so he delighted in company and feasting; he was very complaisant with his friends; his raillery was smart and neat; and he manag'd all business with such address, that in the most serious consultations, he would frequently mingle so much of light conversation, as might be sufficient to refresh the mind, without taking off the intention: and that was properly that Character of urbanity he instructs us how to acquire in his Treatise *de Oratore*. And though it be something difficult in these times, to judge of the wit of what he there proposes as examples of it; yet it is certain that he was very good at it; seeing *Cato* as grave and as much a Stoick as he was, after

*Phst. in his life.*

ha-

having heard *Cicero* burlesk the *Stoicks* Morals, could not forbear laughing and saying, *I must needs confess we have a very pleasant Consul.*

*Demosthenes* had not this taking way in his conversation, and if at any time he ventur'd at it, he miscarried therein, as *Longinus* observes, where he compares him with *Hyperides*; his behaviour also being more reserv'd, made his discourses fitter to be listen'd to, & to be receiv'd as oracles. But as this his serious humour made him prudent & circumspect, so did it make him politic even in all his expences, in which he was guided by his ambition only, which was the end of all his actions. Thus he took pleasure to lay out his mony in repairing the town-walls, in equipping of ships, in encouraging trade, in ransoming of slaves, in marrying of poor maids, in Publick sports and show's which he gave the people. And though

<sup>a</sup> *Muren Plut.* <sup>b</sup> *Lucian in his Elogy of Demost.*

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this did in some measure gain him affection, yet could he never condescend so farre, as to doe any of those things with that affability and popular air which is so necessary in a Commonwealth.

Not but that *Cicero* was likewise liberal, & that even to excess, but he took not altogether so much care to be so in those things which make so much noise; for all his expences were Lordlike, and proceeded more from his temper, then any Politick end he had in them. And by this means he deserv'd the name of magnificent, and liberal, though he sought it not, and was generally as much so on all occasions as *Demosthenes* was in some particular ones: He is reckon'd to have had eighteen country houses, all stately built, and splendidly furnish'd though he possesse them not all at the same time. The chief of these were the

*Blond. 19. Jan. triumph.*

*Tus.*

*Tusculane*, in the *Thyrasian*, & that at *Cajetan*, that at *Arpinum*, the *Monte prino*, and lastly that which he had at *Canus*. Neither was it so much out of pride that he affected this *Poppe* (though it must be confessed he was somewhat vain) as out of a height of spirit, which sought thereby the esteem of a people, who did not at all disrelish any thing that was sumptuous, so it were maintain'd by wealth honestly got. I thought it would not be superfluous here to take notice of this difference that was between them, though it have little relation to their Eloquence, because that it did however make this great man more considerable, in a state which had a regard to any great quality in its Citizens. To conclude, both of them had the skill of managing all things, which might any way conduce to recommend them to their best advantage: and their discreet conduct gain'd them so much

authority, that they seem'd to make themselves masters of their auditors hearts, and to command whatever they perswaded; and this was that which was most admirable in these two Orators. For whether it be look'd upon as the peculiar gift of heaven, or as an effect of their personall desert, it is certain that never any two single persons, had ever a more absolute empire over two nations, that were more shie or Jealous of loosing their liberty. But that we may the better judge of them, we shall doe well to examine the second thing, which *Aristotle* tells us is necessary to the art of persuasion, which is to know how the minds of the audience stand affected, and which he divides into three parts. To conclude both of them had the skill of managing all things, which might in any way conduce to recommend them to their best advantage: and their direct conduct gain'd them to much

CHAP. XI.

*That to perswade, it is necessary  
to consider the inclination, and  
disposition of the audience.*

**I**F it be true that Perswasion is a  
kind of conquest over the hearts  
of men, an Orator may fitly be  
compar'd to a General, & the minds  
of those he is to work upon, to a  
place assaulted by him; and as  
valour is not sufficient to make an at-  
tempt succesfull, without knowing  
the condition of the enemy; so nei-  
ther is the Eloquence of the Orator  
sufficient to perswade, unlesse he  
first apply himself to find the humour,  
and genius, and the interests of those  
he is to work upon.

No body ever understood, or  
taught the way of gaining the minds  
of men by perswasion, so well as  
*Aristotle* in his books of Rhetorick:

and

and he is the only man, who knew how to search into that obscure place, the heart of man; who could fathom the depth of that abyſſe, and find out the clue that muſt guide us through thoſe many winding Meanders, that lead to it. 'Tis he we are beholding to for teaching us how to keep private intelligence in it, by the help of the paſſions, how ſometimes to attempt a ſurpriſe upon it by frights, to allure it with hopes, and winn it either by ſtirring up deſires, or kindling anger, and exciting in it all thoſe commotions, which are capable of gaining a party there for him that ſpeaks: but unleſſe we can diſcover how the ſoul ſtands affected, where ſhe is fortified, and where open, it is hard to expreſſe this art with any ſucceſſe. And though this Philoſopher be much to be admir'd throughout all his works, yet is he no where more, than in this part of them, where he has



reduced that which before was only a rude and confus'd masse of precepts, into principles and a clear science; his instructions about it being so infallible, that if they be follow'd, they cannot faile of bringing us to the propos'd end. It is then from that admirable book, and excellent Epitome of Moralls, that we must gather rules, whereby to see into and gain hearts. For unlesse we can find out and move the most hidden springs w<sup>th</sup> turn and byass us, & sink into the bottom of the infirmities of humane nature, what impression can all the outward force of Eloquence make upon the soul?

The ordinary Declamers are farre from this perfection; who instead of studying the manners, inclinations, and humors of men, the foundations on which all persuasion must

*Nisi naturas hominum vinctas, omnem humanitatis  
Orator perspicere docendo quod velit perficere non  
poterit. Cic. de Orat. lib. 1.*

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he rais'd <sup>and</sup> employ themselves in ordering their words handsomly, and seek nothing but the ornaments and flourishes of speech, which make no impression upon the hearers, but are forgotten as soon as the speaker leaves off. Whereas the true Orator makes it his chiefe business, to understand the affections and interests of his audience, and finding what effect each passion produces in their hearts, makes use of that w<sup>ch</sup> may best suite with his purpose; he finds what naturally they are most prone to, and takes hold of them on that side they bend towards, that he may with more ease pull them after him: and this violence he does his Audience is carried with so much art, that they think they goe of their own accord, when the Orator drives them. But how few are there y<sup>e</sup> who have this art of entring, and commanding mens hearts. The inconstancy and mutability of our inclinations and  
 ed hu-

humours; the diversity of interests, the circumstances of time and place, and even chance it self, which has so great a share in this disposing of mens minds towards the bringing to passe of any great event, are things of so large an extent, that to be well understood, they require the perpetuall study and attention of an Orator, who must make use of all these methods when he proposes any thing in an Assembly, and designs to draw them over to his opinion.

But if the same men, in the same country, and in the same day, are many times in divers minds about the same thing; according as they are differently possessed by severall passions; as *Aristotle* hath well observ'd: how much more variable will the opinions of people of different climates be, whose laws, customs, manners, and humours, are so vastly different? And will it

not be requisite, & that an Orator be able to discern all these varieties; and put on divers forms, as there is occasion, if he desire to be successful in perswading? Had not *Cicero* been much mistaken, if he had gon about to perswade the Greeks to any thing in the same manner as he us'd to doe the Romans? And had not *Demosthenes* mist of his aime think you, if he had undertook to gain the Romans by that vehement way where with the Greeks were pleas'd? But that we may the better judge of the divers kinds of Eloquence, which the different tempers of the people they had to deal with forc'd them to use, let us a little examine their humours and Genius.

*Natura & variae voluntates, multum inter se differentia effecerunt genera dicendi.* *Cicero de Orat.*

*CHAR*

## CHAPTER XI.

A character of the humours of the  
Greeks in Demosthenes  
his time.

The Grecians were so polite a people, that they lookt upon all other nations as clownish, and even barbarous. But of all the Greeks the Athenians were those who were most ingenious in all arts and sciences, and who did most relish Eloquence. Their country had bred so many great Orators, that by degrees the knowledge of handsome things, became almost naturall to them. *Pericles* whose discourse they compar'd to the thunder and lightning of their Olympian Jupiter, had so us'd them to hear nothing but what was elegant and clean, that those who were to speak in Publick, lookt

lookt upon even the lower sort of people, as so many Censurers of what they were to say: and this their accurate judgment had introduc'd amongst them, a so curious and scrupulous a way of speaking in publick, that they dar'd not use in their Orations one word, which was not extremly proper, and authoris'd by frequent usage. But as the good language and eminent Eloquence of these Orators, had made them great Criticks; so had flatterie much encreas'd the naturall proud and fierce humour of this people, insomuch that an ordinary address was not sufficient to perswade those who would alway's be look'd upon as masters; and have a command over them, that

*Sincerrum fuit sic eorum iudicium ut nihil possent nisi incorruptum audire & elegans eorum religionem serviret Orator, nullum verbum insolens aut odiosum ponere audebat. Cic. de Orat.*

*In Gloria & Eloquentia solius libidinis. Tertull.*

*Apol.* Those who were to speak in Publick

lookt

pre-

pretended to persuade them. The law of Ostracisme, which was made upon occasion of the insupportable tyranny of *Pisistratus*, did much add to the haughtinesse of this arrogant people. This law was instituted by *Heraclides* to give a form of Government, w<sup>th</sup> might exclude from publick affairs and banish for ten years those, whose credit and extraordinary merit might render them suspected: & therefore such who had rais'd themselves by the most lawfull and commendable means, were to carry themselves so, that their greatnesse might never give offence to the pride of this people; which could not endure any thing should grow too high, and out of their reach.

This law was so rigorously observ'd at first, that *Aristides*, who had acquir'd himself the Epithete of Just, and had done so much for the glory of his country, was condemn'd



to be banish'd like a criminal, and that by an unknown object contemptible fellow, who could not so much as write or read. And though this rigour was much abated in the time of *Alcibiades*, and almost quite abolish'd afterwards, as it happens to all laws that are too severe; yet it had left such an impression in the minds of the *Athenians*, such an aversion against any body that was extraordinarily eminent, and kept such an awe over all those that spoke in publick, that they were oblig'd to a great deale of caution and circumspection. And the lawes they tied them to, went so farre, as to forbid all such artificiall ornaments, as might in the least disguise the truth; and the stirring up any passion, which might surprize their reason: because they lookt upon the one, as a snare laid to catch their belief, and the other as an attempt made upon their liberty. And thus

render'd

render their discourses more cold  
and barren then otherwise they had  
been, w<sup>ch</sup> faults were produced more  
from the restraints that lay upon  
them, then any defect in their ca-  
pabilities. For if we bar Eloquence  
from the soft ways of moving p<sup>ty</sup> in  
mens minds, we disarm her of  
her chiefest strength, and leave her  
nothing but only rough and violent  
passions to make use of, in which  
a vehement pronounciation does ma-  
ny times more, then all the con-  
ning of art.

*Julius Pollux* observes, that  
there was also another law made by  
the *Areopagites*, against the use of  
prefaces & perorations in any crimi-  
nall cases, because those parts of  
a discourse being most fit for Rhetor-  
icall ornaments, and working on  
the affections, might give the Ora-  
tors an opportunity of surprising,  
and making the resolution of the  
Judges. *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick,

and *Quintilian* in his institutions, doe at large explain the intention of that law: and it may be the Greeks had borrow'd this severity from the *Arabians*; since *Averroes* in his Comments upon the place where 'tis mention'd by *Aristotle*, tells us, that among them it was the custome to speak in publick without any action or gestures of a declaimer, least the Oratour should thereby impose on his audience. And though this was not strictly observ'd in *Demosthenes* his time, as it had been in *Solons*, yet one may easily see, that he had confin'd himself to the observation of that old custome; for his great fancy had otherwise doubtlesse furnish'd him with more moving passages in the close of his Orations, which are never employ'd to the degree they otherwise

\* ARITH. C. I. Rhet., Quint. Lib. 6. ad. ult. vs.  
Sine numeris etiam per praesentia prohibebatur Oratio.

*Una regressione per processi probabilistici.*

Judges. Aristotle in his History,

bac 2 3

might. At least *Quintilian* impures it to this law, which he pretends to have continued in force at *Athens* in the time of *Demosthenes*. However 'tis certain that this custome was very disadvantageous to him; <sup>b</sup> for unlesse Eloquence does employ and make use of all her forces to stir up or to calme the mind, she never can gain an Empire over the heart.

But the *Athenians* were not only proud, fiery, Jealous of their power, and severe towards their Orators, in that they allow'd them not to move pitty, nor work on the passions, which are the cheif things whereon depend the succeſſe of Eloquence; but besides all this, they were so impatient, so light and inconstant, that many times they

<sup>a</sup> *Epilogos illi mos civitatis abstulerat. lib. 10. c. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> *Omnis via ratioque dicendi in eorum qui quidvis mentibus aut excitandis aut sedandis exquirenda. Cic. de Orat.*

*In quo uno regnat Oratio. Ibid.*

would

would passe on a sudden from one resolution to a quite contrary, without any reason but only their Humour, wherby it became impossible to take any measures how to proceed with them. *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and *Polybius*, have left us in many places of their works, very lively descriptions of this their humour: but no body has better represented it, then *Cicero* in the Oration he made in defence of *Flaccus*, his successour in the Pretorship of *Asia*, who was accus'd of cheating the state. For he there imputes the many troubles, and finally the ruine of Greece, to nothing but the inconstancy of that turbulent and unquiet people, which would many times be rul'd by nothing but their own capricious humour, whose de-

*Thucyd. lib. 1. Hist.*  
*Plut. in Lycurg. Polyb. lib. 6. Hist.*  
*Græcorum Respub. sedentis concione temperate administrantur. Cic. pro Flac.*

blow

libe-

liberations were accompanied with  
so much tumult and confusion, that  
the most rash and impudent were ge-  
nerally those whose counsells were  
followed. A hand held up, or an  
outcry rais'd by some factious fel-  
low, was frequently that which car-  
ried the thing in debate; and this  
doubtlesse was the reason that *Ari-  
stotle*; who takes most of his notions  
from the customs and manners of  
the Greeks, observes in his *Politi-  
cks*, that the most pernicious kind  
of tyranny is that which proceeds  
from the immoderate unlimited po-  
wer of the people, when they have  
the soveraigne authority in their  
hands.

And as we find that those who  
are most insolent when in power,

<sup>a</sup> *Gracia concidit libertate immoderate & concio-  
num licentia. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Psephismata declarata manu porrigenda & profun-  
dendo clamore multitudinis concitata, pro Flacco C. 5.  
lib. 4. Politic.*

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are always the most abject, spoiled, spirited, and submissive when in subjection: thus the Athenians, who had been so imperious in their prosperity, became the most abject slaves to the successors of Alexander, and afterwards to the Romans, when they had mastered them. And indeed never any nation seem'd more born for servitude then they: for scarce had Rome extended its Empire beyond Italie, but it swarmed with them, so that it gave occasion to Lucian, who is always pleasant in his raillery, to say, that there was no worke for any body in great mens services at Rome but the Athenians.

Tacitus uses them yet worse, for he reckons them in the same rank with the Asiatics, who were then esteem'd, as generally the inhabitants

*Demetrius de conductu.*  
*Timidi & imbelles, quales amena Græcia & Asiae Orientis educunt. Ann. 2.*

of



of beautifull and pleasant countries are, the most cowardly effeminate people in the world. All these things doe make it appear, that with their wit and inconstant lightnesse we just now mention'd, this people had at the bottome a great deal of baseness & cowardize; which forced their Orators to condescend to their humours, when they design'd to perswade them. They were fain by turns to complement and terrify, to awe and flatter them in a breath; and this was it which *Demosthenes* knowing their temper manag'd with such succeffe.

It were neverthelesse very unjust, to include into this number all those of that nation, which have distinguish'd themselves from the rest, either by the glory of their actions, or the excellency of their writings. For 'tis well known, that from them we have deriv'd all manner of knowledge in the Arts & Sciences, as well as the

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the first precepts of honesty, civi-  
lity and morality. But these great  
persons had many times so little  
share in the publick decrees, that  
the vertue, of which they have left  
behind them so many illustrious  
marks, ought not to be admitted  
as the generall Character of this  
people. Notwithstanding this small  
number of worthy men, we may with  
truth affirm, that no Oratour ever  
had to doe with more untractable  
spirits then *Demosthenes*, or built his  
Eloquence upon methods more un-  
likely to give it perfection.

## CHAP. XII.

### *The Character of the Romans in Cicero's time.*

**C***icero* found a far more spacious  
field, wherein to exercise his Ge-  
nius, Rome was no more in his time,

and

what

what it had been in that of the first  
 Consuls, and the Decemviri, \* when  
 their severe and handly civiliz'd ha-  
 mours made all the vertues that they  
 glory'd in, to consist in warre and  
 handling of armes. She had by this  
 time insensibly lost her former  
 fiercenesse, by conversing with o-  
 ther nations, and by the care of  
 Scipio the younger and *Laelius*, who  
 began to introduce amongst them a  
 more civil way of conversation, and  
 make the people relish arts and inge-  
 nious things. *Terence* by the help  
 of those two admirable persons, re-  
 presented on the stage a pattern  
 of civil life, by which he did so well  
 refine their manners & understand-  
 ings, that *Ennius* his old-fashion'd  
 stuff, and *Pacuvius* his uncouth style,  
 which they had before so admir'd,  
 began to disgust them; so that they  
 ventur'd even to criticize upon the

\* Qui bene pugnabat Romanum severat artes Quid  
 Fast.

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All expressions of Plautus, whom before they had too patiently heard. All those great men who were famous from the time of Terence, unto that of Cicero, did contribute very much to polish and refine the nation: though it never devoted its self so entirely to those studies as the Grecians did. The truth is, this refining of the Roman wits did neither abate their haughtyness, nor make them lesse jealous of their glory: but as the fierce humour of the Greeks proceeded from a principle of pride, so did that of the Romans from an excessive of courage. And this made Cicero say, that other nations were fitly qualified for slaves, and were able to undergoe the yoke: but that the love of liberty, and that greatness of spirit which is requisite in those that are to command, was the proper character of the Romans.

*Aliæ notiones servitutem pati possunt, Romani propria libertas est. S. Phil.*

*Tu regere imperio populos* Ec. 6. *Aeneid.*

Her of the Romans. And the priviledge  
the Roman lawes allowed young  
persons of leaving their Estate by  
will to whom they would after the  
age of fourteen, contrary to the  
custome of other nations, does suf-  
ficiently evidence, that the love of  
liberty seem'd very just to them,  
since they made laws to authorise  
it. Pride was so odious to them,  
that they could not beare with it so  
much as in their masters. Fair me-  
thods and modesty were the surest  
means, that could be us'd by any  
one to recommend him. And as  
they were wholly given to warre  
and laborious occupations, so they  
could not endure any of those vices  
which proceed from idlenesse, and  
which they never were infected with,  
till their frequent conversation with  
the Greeks after the taking of Co-  
rinth.

Their Oratours were likewise lesse

• *Sunt agri studiose columni. Cic. pro Rosc.*

con-

# 24 The Character of Demost.

confin'd in their Publick discourses, then were the Greeks. Those austere rules, which were so strictly observ'd at Athens, were not known at Rome, and unlesse it was the length of their Orations, which was limited by Pompey in his first Consulship, there was no confinement set upon Eloquence, which might any way hinder her from using all her arts, and setting all those engines on worke, which may any way affect the hearers.

In fine as there reigned in the commonwealth of Rome a certain majesticke aire of greatnesse, which had in it something more substantiall then what was to be found at Athens, as Lucian observes in his Characters: and as the Romans had naturally a love for justice and verity, as St. Austin tells us; so were they not addicted to that levity of the

*¶ Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam natura regitur. De civ. del. cap. 1. lib. 2.*

Athenians, which gave their Orators so much trouble, that they knew not which way to deale with them. And in this *Demosthenes* had as much reason to complain of his bad, as *Cicero* had to rejoyce at his good fortune, seeing he had lighted upon a nation endin'd to a passionate moving Eloquence, from which the Greeks receded as a thing forbidden by the lawes; so that the one might give his fancy a free liberty to employ the whole extent of his art in perswading; whereas the other, being confin'd within the narrow limits allow'd him by the lawes, was constrain'd to make all the art of his Eloquence consist in the force of his argumentation. And therefore though this very different way of speaking, gave *Cicero* many great advantages over *Demosthenes*: yet we cannot from thence infer that he deserv'd to be prefer'd before him. We must then examine, what that way of



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of speaking is which Aristotle makes  
the third thing necessary to perswa-  
sion, before we can determine which  
deserves the preheminance.

C A A P. XII.

*Of the third thing necessary to  
perswasion which is the way of  
speaking we ought to use, and  
of the art of Eloquence in ge-  
nerall.*

**T**Hough the personal worth of  
the Orator, as well as the fa-  
vourable disposition of the Audience,  
are powerful instruments to prepare  
mens hearts for perswasion, yet the  
way of speaking makes up the grea-  
ter part of that impression, which Elo-  
quence produces in the minds of those  
it would effect. Perswasion in gene-  
ral is that admirable art, which makes

so much noise in the schooles of Orators, and which all the Declamours make such fair promises of teaching, though they understand it not themselves. It is that wonderful secret of moving hearts, which Rhetorick hath so long sought after with its train of precepts, without being able to find it; and indeed it is much easier to be sensible of it, then to express it: for it is not the heaping together many tropes & figures, where with books are stuffed, nor in the pompous ordering of many extraordinary and high flown thoughts, which surprize and dazle us with an empty splendour, in which this art of perswasion consists: for good sense, which always is most perswasive, has never so gawdy an outside. Let us then examine wherein this great secret consists.

That we may better clear this point, we must observe that the briskness of parts which we have

H

from

## 98 The Eloquence of Nature.

from nature, is likewise the chief ingredient of that Eloquence we seek after: so that the ground of it is indeed natural, as it is in all things which art is capable of improving; and therefore whosoever intends to be Eloquent, must begin by studying himself, and examining whether he have any natural Genius, which if he have, he must carefully strive to cherish and improve it: & make it his guide in all his course of study: for without this caution, all the steps we make lead us out of our way: by reason of our neglect in first seeking to find out, what nature had fitted us for.

The rule that we ought to follow in this our research is, first carefully and patiently to apply our selves to the seeking it, & then constant-

*\* Intelligentis est videre, quo ferat natura suum gignatque. Brut.*

*b In qua deliberatione ad suam cuiusque naturam confilium omne est revocandum. Offic. l. d.*

ly to cultivate when we have discovered it. It is good allways to follow what we find our selves most inclined to, especially in the case we are now mentioning, if our inclinations are not absolutely bad. This is the first thing that Cicero advises us to in his rules about decency; because whatever is not natural is affected, and all affectation becomes a real fault: and this is so true, that we find the misbecoming air, which is so disgusting in all those who either go, speak, or do any thing affectedly, proceeds from its being forced, and unnatural. Every one ought to regulate himself by this maxim, for nothing can become any body, which appears to be forced; and whatever is natural in any one, doth certainly become him best. So that if we will be successfull in all we

*2. Tuncda sunt, sua cuique non vitiosa, sed propria.*  
Cic. Offic. 1.

*3. id est, Maxime, quomodo dicet, quod est cuiusque summi.*  
maxime. Cic. Offic. 1.

do, and even in the manner of life we take to, we ought never to endure any thing, that is not what it appears to be, that is any way strange, or disproportion'd to our natural inclination. For it is hardly credible how much we injure our selves, by a servile imitation; and it is one of the most universal causes, why so few Oratours succeed, amongst so many who apply themselves to the study of Eloquence. For the most part of those who speak in publick, not being contented with their own small abilities, strive to imitate and take pattern by those, <sup>a</sup> they see succeed better than themselves; & this brings them into that inconvenience, wherewith *Cicero* threatens those who change their course, <sup>b</sup> *It is not possible, says he, that any one should ever be in a capacity of pleasing, when he*

<sup>a</sup> *Nihil decet imitā Minervā, id est, repugnantē naturā.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sic ut decorum conservare non possis si aliorum naturam imiteris, omittas tuam. Offic. 1.*

leaves the means which nature had given him, and borrows from others.

Cicero's way had doubtless never took, had it not been rais'd upon Demosthenes his bottom; and that pleasant aire which so became him, would never have suited with Demosthenes his more severe temper. But they both knew well, what fitted them best. This Genius and capacity is the chief of those natural qualities, which are absolutely necessary to Eloquence; upon which I have been more large than otherwise I should, because it is generally so little known or minded.

As for the other natural qualities, it will not be requisite I stay so long upon them. They consist in a deep understanding gain'd by a long exercise of prudence and discretion, whereby a good judgment is acquir'd; but this solidity will be defective, if it be not accompanied with a clear, even, and undisturb'd fancy. For let the understand-

derstanding be never so good, it will miscarry, if the imagination be not rightly dispos'd; for it is that active part which sets all on work, and thence it comes to be of such importance. The voice, & aire of the face, the gesture of the body, and all the outside, are other natural gifts requisite in an Oratour; the perfection of which consists, in having in every one such a becoming grace as does set off all our outward actions.

Learning and Art are not less necessary to Eloquence, but those are such qualities as may be acquir'd. As for the first it is certain nobody can have any great share of Eloquence without it; which will prove but an empty sound, incapable of producing any effect, if it be not furnish'd with a good stock of all kind of knowledge. And it is for want of this, that the young man in the Sarcyrist, is so angry with the Declainers  
-bushtob of



of his time, whom he taxes with being the first corrupters of *Eloquence*, because they minded nothing but a certain specious flourishing way of speaking, which had in it nothing of solidity. That was not the way, says he, which *Homer*, *Kindar*, *Plato*, *Thucydides*, *Hyperides*, and *Demosthenes* took to become *Eloquent*.

His indignation at this so great an error, was much encreas'd, when a certain grave Doctor, to appease him, told him, that this disorder proceeded from the professors of *Rhetorick*, who to allure young men, did amuse them about the outside of words, which imposes on them, and pleases none but those who are ignorant: and that the parents were likewise in fault, who by ill education, & too early setting their children to study, do render them incapable of great things, whilst they pretend to

*Pace in stradixisse licet, primi eloquentiam perdistis. Sat.*

make

make excellent Oratours of them, that can hardly speak plain; and after all, he concludes in these words, which would loose all their beauty and grace, should I translate them: *Quod si paterentur laborum gradus fieri, ut studiosi juvenes lectione severa mitigarentur, ut sapientiae praeceptis animos componerent, ut verba atroci stylo effoderent, ut quod vellent imitari, diu audirent, sibi que nihil esset magnificum, quod pueris placeret, illa grandis oratio subiret majestatis suae pondus.*

This so rational discourse, does in general shew the path we must tread, to arrive at that supreme degree of Eloquence which gains admiration. And it is certain, that we cannot pretend to any thing in it that is great and substantial, unless we do first get a stock of large conceptions, by filling our mind with all those I.

*Nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus Orator, nisi erit omnium magnarum rerum, & artium scientiam consecutus. I. de Oratore.*

deas which the knowledge of sciences can supply us with. This is the ordinary defect of those superficial Oratours, who think to make amends for the weakness of their fancy by the strength of their expressions, and who distinguish themselves from others by clothing pitiful ordinary matter in great strong lines. This is in short what may in brief be said of those abilities which are so absolutely necessary for those who would deserve any place among Oratours.

It remains that we say something of Art, which though it be a large subject to discourse of, yet I shall not fully examine, least I should oblige my self to write a whole treatise of Eloquence, when my subject only requires I should make some draughts that are most necessary for the comparison I designe; though even this be difficult enough to do. For who is able to determine precisely in what the supreme perfection of this Art consists

consists? Is it in the great and lofty, or else the strong and forcible way of expression? In close and concise, or in pompous full discourse? Is it the frequent use of figures, or a plain style that constitutes Eloquence? Is it the art of *Protagoras* and *Thrasymachus*, who boast in *Plato* that they can persuade to what they please, or the natural plainness of *Socrates* who does really persuade without bragging of it?

The more we search into this matter, the more difficult we find it; when we reflect on that piece of *Cicero's* wherein he does so admirably enlarge himself upon the Punishment of parricides, and which so took with the People, though that Orator himself, when he grew more in years, esteem'd it but as one of his first juvenile Essays. The truth is, there is in it something that seems forced.

*Quantis ille clamoribus adolescentuli diximus, in supplicio parricidarum? Quid tam commune quam scire vinum? &c. Orat.*

and

and studied for; he discovers in it too much of art, which has something of the young man in it. How then should we make a particular discovery herein, if we stay to reflect on all those things wherein Eloquence consists not? It will be sufficient to our purpose, if we can find that which is most real and essential to it, to which end it may be enough to establish some general maxime according to w<sup>ch</sup> we may frame such an Idea of Eloquence, as may agree with all the worlds conceptions of it; concerning w<sup>ch</sup> these are my sentiments.

The most essential part of all things, especially of those which are to please, is a certain grace in the doing of them, which is the ground and original of the pleasure they raise in us. It is a principle and general rule which \* Roscius, who taught Cicero to pronounce, did often put him in mind of, and which he afterward

\* *Quod ipse Roscius ait auctor dicam, Caput erit decere, De Orat. lib. 1.*

appli-

applied to Eloquence, that the most essential part of this art, consists in knowing how to find what becomes us. But what that is he says can neither be express'd, nor taught. Yet he does something towards the explaining what it is, in his Offices; where talking of the decency that ought to be observ'd in all duties, which is the foundation of it, he says, *It is nothing but a suitableness of our words or actions, to the circumstances of time, place, occasions, and persons.* Which is so true, that Hortensius his way of speaking in publick, which took so much when he was young, ceas'd to doe so when he grew older, and that because it was no more suitable to his age.

And it is for this very reason, that

*Quædam sunt, quæ tradi arte non potest.*

*Decet quod aptum est personis, temporibus, etatibus. Cic. 1.*

*Id quod quique personæ dignum est, id fit ei.*

*Manebat idem non decebat idem. Cic. in Brut.*

*Is erit eloquens qui ad quodcumque decibit poterit accommodare orationem. Cic. Orat.*

Cicero

Cicero in the description he makes of a true Oratour, <sup>a</sup> says, that no body will ever be so, but those who are able to discern what becomes them, and have the art to practice it. There is nothing more difficult or seldomer found than this art, as he himself confesses. Without it one can never please, and with it one can never fail says <sup>b</sup> Quintilian. For that disposes of all things as they ought to be, that is in their own proper rank and place, from which proceeds that admirable order, not only of words, but also of conceptions, which is always so pleasing and satisfactory. And the chief perfection of this art, is not so much in finding ornaments for the discourse, as in disposing of them in their places; as that of the Painters is to cast the light, and place the objects in a just

<sup>a</sup> *Quero quem probem probabo cum qui quod decessu videbit. Ibid.*

*Nihil tam difficile quam quid deceat videre. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Nihil potest placere quod non decessu.*

propor-





setting off their thoughts in the most taking aire. For a discourse may have a due proportion between its parts, may have its ornaments, & many beauties, and yet not please; because the things in it are not set off with that unexpressible air, which is so taking and charming. We find a great deal of difference, between prettiness, and exact beauty.

But what is this admirable air which makes all the Oratour say be kindly admitted into our minds, and which produces such strange effects in Eloquence? *Cicero* would fain tell us what it is, but cannot; we must return to the former principle we have establish'd, which is *Caput artis decora*. One may be taught to speak well, but no precept can be found capable of teaching this most proper becoming way, wherein all things must be deliver'd. Happy he that has it, for in that consists all natural Eloquence,

quence, which is very differing from the artificial.

\* The second principle which constitutes this art, is thinking well and soberly upon the subject of our discourse, and in this always to consult good sense, the least grain of which is of more worth, then all the superficial lustre the ornaments of Rhetorick can supply. This prudence, which is the foundation of all Eloquence, as Cicero tells us, includes a solid judgment, and a clear discerning faculty, to make us invent what in it self is good, and then expresse it well. There is nothing of more importance to this Art then this, for whatever is sense is alway Elcquent, and whatever is not so, be it never so elegant, can never be brought to be perswasive.

Besides this gift of pleasing by

\* *Dicere nemo bene potest nisi qui prudenter intelligit.*  
Cic. Or.

decency

decency and solidity of sense which is so requisite to Eloquence, there is also a certain conduct by which the Orator must be guided; and this I make the third principle, which consists in making as much use as one will of all the art of Rhetorick, so the art be not too apparent; for nothing can please when one may discover it was design'd to doe so; and we can never charme, when it is plainly seen we aime at nothing else. *Demosthenes* himself, as great an Orator as he was, is never lesse taking, then when he strives to be so: for art can never be succesfull, unlesse it be disguis'd. All things are good used with this precaution, and yet it is a rule which we find observed but by few, because it is difficult to goe about to please without seeming to design it, and to seem carelesse when most concernd.

*Eloquentiam qui consecuti sunt, quia lingua spectata est.*

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The last thing that ought to be observ'd, is an exact proportion of the discourse to the subject, so that we neither speake of what is great and lofty in a low style, nor on the contrary cloathe ordinary matter in high flown elevated expressions. There is nothing that is more offensive to any person of judgment, then this disproportion, which is so ordinary a fault with young writers, who doe many times inconsiderately fly higher then they ought when their subject is mean, and are not able to reach high enough when the matter requires it. The precept of the Orator must be carefully observ'd, *\* Quanta ad rem tanta ad orationem fiat accessio.* This rule ought likewise to extend it self to the persons to whom we addresse our selves. For it is above all things requisite to proportion our discourse to the apprehensions of our audience, we

\* Cic. Orat.

ought

ought to speak otherwise before understanding persons than the ignorant & unlearn'd; even as *Cicero* & *Demosthenes* have shewn us the way. According to these rules and maxims we have fixt upon, we may now examine the Eloquence of both these great men, and compare their Characters, that so we may observe how they differ'd in their severall ways, and accordingly determine which of them is most likely to persuade.

#### CHAP. XIV.

### *A Character of Demosthenes his Eloquence.*

**D***emosthenes* was of a cholerick melancholy temper; the heaviness which proceeded from his melancholy, made him obstinately persevere in any thing he had un-

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dertaken, and his choſer inspir'd him with vigour and all abilities neceſſary to bring it to perfection. Though this his temper made him ſomething peeviſh and croſſe, yet did it endue him with that ſerious humour, which ſo much conduc'd to the great reputation he at length obtained. For it was partly from this temper that his great ſeverity of manners, which gain'd him the name of ſo vertuous a perſon in his country, proceeded; as alſo that courage he ſhew'd, in declaring himſelf ſo openly againſt *Phillip* and his Son that Conquered the world. And though the power of theſe two Princes, had made them terrible to all Greece; yet *Demosthenes* us'd them at ſuch a rate, as never any King was by a private perſon, who had no authority but that of his reputation, nor weapon but his tongue.

He had likewiſe from nature, a great



great and sublime Genius for all kind of sciences, and spirit enough, to be able to surmount all the obstacles he found in his endeavours to become learn'd. After having replenish'd his mind with that knowledge that was necessary to his profession, he made use of a certain Player whom *Photius* calls *Neoptolemus*, to teach him to pronounce well. *Quintilian* calls him *Andronicus*, and *Plutarch*, *Satyrus*; which makes it seem probable, that being so passionately desirous of succeeding in it, he made use of divers masters, that he might not be wanting in any thing which he could so easily allow himself. This *Satyrus*, who understood his art very well, made him begin, as *Plutarch* tells us, with rehearsing some of *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* his Poems, but after he had done, this Player repeated them again with so much life and grace, that they seem'd quite another

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another thing. Whereupon he began to apprehend how very requisite a good pronounciation is to an Orator, since the same thing only diversly pronounc'd had seem'd so strangely different to him.

Thus by the help of these masters, this young man found encouragement enough from his naturall faculty's that way to make him resolve upon addicting himself to pronounciation, as the chief art wherein his Eloquence would consist. And indeed he added to his naturall vehemency such lively exteriour actions, that it was impossible to hear him, without feeling at the bottom of ones soule sensible effects of his action. <sup>a</sup> *Valerius Maximus* tells us, he had a marvelous piercing sparkling eye, and that

<sup>a</sup> *Lib. 8. cap. 10.*

*In actione dominatur vultus: hic est saepe pro omnibus verbis.*

*In ipso vultu saepe valent oculi per quos animus emanat. Fab. lib. 11. Cap. 3.*

sub-

sub-

he made good use of that naturall advantage, to express diversly in his face such motions as his subject did require, but above all to make him seem terrible and dreadful, when it was requisite he should so. He let his voice fall so properly where it ought, gave his words such a tone, and a gracefull aire to all his action, that it made every one that heard admire him; so that Action was almost the chief quality, wherein his Eloquence consisted: and <sup>a</sup> he himself us'd to say, it was the first, second, and third part of it, meaning that it was all in all to pronounce well what one had to say; and that <sup>b</sup> *all things are to be esteem'd according to the manner they are deliver'd*. But nothing can better make us apprehend the great advantage De-

<sup>a</sup> *Pronunciationi palmam dedit Demosthenes. Just. lib. 11. Cap. 3.*

<sup>b</sup> *Omnia perinde sunt ut aguntur. Cic. de Orat. l. 1.*

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*Demosthenes* had over other men in this art of pronouncing, then the suffrage of his greatest adversarie in the case. For *Eschines* having been cast in the suit he undertook against *Ctesiphon*, whom *Demosthenes* had defended, and having retir'd himself to *Rhodes*, to avoid the shame and allay the grief it had caus'd him, some of his friends desir'd him to re-peate to them the Oration he had made against *Ctesiphon*, w<sup>ch</sup> when he had willingly, done they desir'd him likewise to let them see that w<sup>ch</sup> *Demosthenes* had made against him, he read it to them very distinctly, whereupon they all began to admire it, <sup>2</sup> but what would you have done said he, had you heard him speake it himself? intimating thereby the excellent way he had of pronouncing.

Besides this his action, which gave a life to all he said, he did im-

<sup>12</sup> Magis admiremini si ipsum audissetis 1. de Orat.

- 077

prove

prove all he had to say with proper expressions, lively descriptions, touching passages, and representations, that affected and made strong impressions in the mind. In fine, all his discourse was full of expressive figures, of those frequent apostrophe's, and reiterated interrogations, which adde so much vigour, and doe so animate a discourse, as *Longinus* observes. So that one may truly affirm, that never any Orator rais'd his anger, hatred, indignation, and all his passions to that height as did *Demosthenes*. And that doubtlesse was the reason, that *Demetrius Phalerius* say's, that he pronounc'd as if he had been inspir'd, and *Eratosthenes* in *Plutarch* says, that he spoke like an *Enthusiast*. For he was as it were inflamed, whilst he spoke, by the heat of his action, and the violent transport of his Imagination.

\* *Eximium mentis ingenium*. Phot. in *Demost.* sect. 17.

What

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What shall I say of that sharp style wherewith he stirr'd up the minds of all the Common-wealth against *Philip*, without any regard of his quality? of his invectives wherein he fell upon *Midias*, to render him odious, and obnoxious to publick hatred? of those passages where he is so transported against *Eschines*, in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*? and of all those frequent invocations of the Gods? those Apostrophes to the Sun and starrs? of those oaths by Heaven and earth, by the fountains and rivers, according to the maximes of his Religion? of those strange forc'd figures, and other violent passions, all his discourses so abound with? To all which, he added a pronounciation, and tone of his voice, more thundring then that of *Pericles* whom he had taken for his pattern. And this his vehement action, joyn'd to that of his expression, are the things which chief-

chiefly make up the Character of that powerfull Eloquence, unto which no body besides him ever arriv'd, as *Longinus* assures us, and of which *Quintilian* in his Institutions has left us so fair a description, where he say's, that *Demosthenes* made what impression he pleas'd upon those that heard him, <sup>a</sup> either in inspiring them with his own sentiments and passions, or in raising and exalting those they already were possess'd with, by making them sensible of all his ardour, and in stirring up in them either anger, envy, or indignation, against the subjects he discours'd of, and that this was the chief art wherein his Eloquence consisted.

He had also a particular talent, in representing things exactly with all their circumstances, which is

<sup>a</sup> *Aus qui non est, aut majorem, qui est, faciat affectionem: hæc est illa rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis vim addens oratio: qua præter alios valuit plurimum Demosthenes, l. 6. c. 2.*



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of no small moment to work believe in the people, to whom all things seem much more probable from circumstances. And he had so exquisite an art of describing all things naturally, that the meerest fables as he related them, would perswade much more, by reason of that plain naturall way he deliver'd them in, then the most solid truth alledg'd by another; and these kind of representations taken from the nature of the things, were very succesfull to him.

We are told by \* *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, that his Eloquence was likewise very subtle and artificiall; he could turn and winde about, and follow the most untroden paths, to come the more surely to his proposed end. And thus in the Oration about the fleet, that was to be set out against the King of Persia, by representing to the people the

\* Cap. de figur. causis.

diffi-

difficulty's they would find, if they went about such an enterprise, without engaging all Greece in the same designe; he makes the thing appear so difficult, as he represents it, that though he seems to perswade them to it, yet he dissuades them from it in reality as he at first design'd. And in the same manner, when he intended to blame the carelesnesse and cowardise of the *Athenians*, he did it \* by representing to them the valour and brave deeds of their Ancestours.

\* *Quintilian* in his sixth book of Institutions, explains this expedient, which this Oratour made use of, to surprise his auditours, and of which he had the first hint from *Thucydides*, in the examples of *Nicias* and *Archidamus*. *Ulpian* observes, that there were but few

<sup>a</sup> Ut objurgaret populi segnitiam majorum, laude uti maluit. *Quint. l. 6. cap. 6.*

<sup>b</sup> Ut meliora probantes pejorum pariteret. *Ibid.*

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examples of any artifice of this nature in his time.

And this it was doubtlesse, which gave *Hermogenes* occasion to say in his first book of *Idea's*, that *Demosthenes* was very skilfull in concealing this method. Which *Ulpian* does also more expressely tell us, in the perface before the *Olinthiackes*. *Dionysius Halicarnassens* especially commends the excellent ordering of his discourse, which he marshals with so much art, that he alway's puts every thing in its most proper place. But though he was very happy in alledging & establishing his own arguments, yet was he infinitely more so in confuting those of his adversaries, by the strength of his *Enthymem's*, which were so celebrated by all antiquity. And he never seemed greater nor more wonderfull, then when he was most powerfully opposed; as we may see in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, the successe of which was the

the more esteem'd of, by reason of the worth of *Eschines*, his adversary. Never was any businesse pursued by two Orators with more eagernesse, nor undertook w<sup>th</sup> more preparation; for both of them employ'd above four years in it. \* This animosity which was heard of throughout all Greece, brought together a great concourse of auditors from all parts to assist at this decision, and to see a tryall of skill between these two great men, which became so famous by their emulation.

† But as his vehemence was the chief quality in his Eloquence, so *Photius* assures us, that those Orations he made to the people had much more of it in them, then those he made to the Senate; for whatever is great & noble in Eloquence, becomes most so when deliver'd to a great assembly. It is true

\* *Ad quod iudicium concursus dicitur: e tota Græcia factus. Quid enim tam visendum quam summorum Oratorum in gravissimâ causâ accuratâ & inimicitis accensa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. Orat.*

that

that the credit he had gain'd in his Country by the integrity of his intentions, did authorize him to allow himself any thing, & to take a great liberty of speaking to this people, who needed to be put in mind of their duty. The sharpnesse and anger of this Oratour, did not at all displease them, when they found they needed to be waked out of that *Lethargy*, into which their naturall negligence and Idlenesse had plunged them: and *Demosthenes* that he might the more securely master this sort of people, which truly was proud but withall cowardly, alway's made a great shew of his zeale for the good of the state upon all occasions. They had us'd themselves to endure patiently his invectives and reproaches, by reason of the fruit they had often reaped from his good counsills; and he himself knew very well, that somtimes it is very requisite to seem angry and severe,

that

that he may be useful thereby to his auditors.

There was neverthelesse in all this austere kind of Eloquence very much solid & judicious reason, which had in it nothing that was either superficial or weak; and his reproaches how severe soever, were always taken in good part, because he back't them with such weighty reasons and arguments as were irresistible. His language was ordinary, having nothing farre fetch'd or sought for in it, and yet it was very pure, and conformable to that criticall palate, that reign'd then at Athens; but he had the art of putting into that language, as plain as it was, and into all his words, all the life and vigour that he pleas'd by the vehemence of his action. And now that we may the better come to judge of the value of this his Eloquence, we shall doe well to examine what effects it produc'd.

# CHAP. XV.

*The Effects of Demosthenes's  
Eloquence, and the com-  
mendations the ancients have  
given it.*

**T**Hough learned men have strove  
who should speak most in his com-  
mendation yet nothing seems com-  
parable to what Lucian sayes in the  
case, who commends this Oratour by  
the mouth of Alexander's successor.  
Had it not been for Demosthenes, say's  
K. Antipater, I had taken Athens with  
little trouble then Thebes, but he was  
every where to oppose my designe: he  
could by no means be surpris'd, but  
was alone more formidable then  
whole fleets and armies. What would  
be done had he had the command of  
numerous forces, or the disposing of the  
publick



publick, reviewers of *speeches* we found it  
so difficult to hear, only against the  
power of his words.

King Philip reflecting on the  
power this great man would have  
got, and how terrible he would  
have been, if he had had any war-  
like command; seeing the thunder of  
his Eloquence was alone foodread-  
ful; say's in the same place, *Let*  
*no body any more say that Athenians*  
*are my enemies, for I know none I*  
*have but Demosthenes; it is he alone*  
*that wages warre with me, who brings*  
*to nought and opposes my designs, and*  
*frustrates all my enterprises.* And in-  
deed it was his Eloquence alone  
joynd all Greece in a League against  
the Macedonians; it was that which  
made the Thracians enter into the  
league, though they were before  
engaged to Philip; and this he  
did notwithstanding that Prince had  
sent thither two of his greatest states-  
men, viz. *Amintas*, and *Clearchus*,

to maintain his interest there, and to oppose the designs of *Demosthenes*, who was there as envoy from the *Athenians*.

So that this incomparable person gave that Prince more trouble with the only power of his office, then did the *Pyreum* with all its Gallies, or all the united forces of Greece with all their Commanders. Nay his fame was so great, that as soon as it was known that he was to speake publickly, all the people flock't from all the neighboring parts to hear him. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* confesses, that whenever he read one of *Demosthenes's* Orations, he found himself so strangely mov'd that he was no more himself, but was absolutely captivated by that author. He fully resented all his hatreds, angers, compassions, indignations and hopes,

<sup>a</sup> Ut concursus ex totâ Graciâ fierent cum *Demosthenes* dicturus esset. *Cic. de claris Orat.*

<sup>b</sup> *Epist. ad Am.*

and

and all that he sayd made the same impression upon him, as the mystery's of the Goddesse Cybele did upon her Priests. I confesse I do not wonder that this learn'd man was so moved and affected when he read *Demosthenes*, for as he himself was of a very penetrating judgement, so he did easily comprehend and see into the reasons, and all the sentiment of this Orator, and by a kind of sympathy was affected with them as with his own thoughts. And there is no body but will find the same effects from reading *Demosthenes*, if he doe it with the same attention and preparation of mind, as did that Oratour, for we are certainly touch'd with every thing he say's, if we be fitly dispos'd.

One need only take the pains to read *Plutarch* upon the life of *Demosthenes*, to see the strange effects of his Eloquence. But after I had read that, nothing seem'd to me so glori-

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glorious for this great man, as what Quintilian say's of him, viz: *that it was the Eloquence of Demosthenes which made Cicero what he was.* And what Cicero himself confesses, *that he strives to follow, but cannot reach him.*

I mention not the advantage which Demosthenes got over Python the Orator, and cheif Minister of Philip, whom Diodorus Siculus commends so much. I likewise passe over the successe he had against Hyperides and Phocion so admir'd by Plutarch; and will now set down, some of the *Elogium's* learn'd men have given this incomparable Orator.

Eratosthenes in Plutarch say's, *there is something divine in Demosthenes his Eloquence.* Leosthenes in Lucian assures us, *that the discourse of Demosthenes, was the only one which*

*Cicer. quantus est magna ex parte fecit. l. 10. c. 1. Mss. Demosthenem imitatur, quid aliud agimus? ad non assequimur. Bruti.*

-mola

seem'd

seem'd to h<sup>ave</sup> no life in it, Theophrastus being demanded what he thought of Demosthenes his Eloquence, answer'd, it was far better then Athens deserv'd. Polyæctus the great Spectian Oratour, who had a share in the management of the state affairs, and liv'd in Theophrastus his time, does give it as his opinion, that Demosthenes was the greatest of Orators. Aristotle in Lucian presenting this great man to Alexander, assures him, that the greatnesse of his Eloquence, made him admire him above all others. Alexander the great call'd him the most powerfull Orator of all the rest in perswading, and he said, that his Eloquence had enchantment in it, because he perswaded to what he would. Menædemus in Cicero, say's of him, that he had the art of affecting mens minds, and doing what he pleas'd with them.

Demetrius acknowledges that Demosthenes, when he spoke, seem'd

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to be inspir'd. Hermogenes in his Ideas, that the way of speaking of this Orator came nearest perfection of any. Dionysius Halicarnasseus, that he out-did in Eloquence, all his predecessors, successors, and Contemporaries. Suidas that he was wonderfully powerfull, in expressing what he had premeditated. Cicero where he seeks a perfect Orator, in the description he makes of him declares, that no example of him can be found but in Demosthenes. Valerius Maximus assures us, that his name alone makes one apprehend all that is great in Eloquence. Longinus styles his Eloquence, naturally great, and brought to perfection. Plutarch and Quintilian have said more of it then all the rest; and Ausonius in his Epistles to Symmachus say's, that never any besides did arrive to the strength of Demosthenes his reasoning.

These Elogiums may be opposed to the invectives of Juvenal and Sardonius, who have dared to reproach

De-

*Demosthenes* with the obscurity of his birth; as if the faculties of the soule, and naturall abilities, depended upon the circumstances where-with a man comes into the world. I shall not stand upon the commendations that are given him by modern writers, but I cannot omit what one of the most considerable hath said of him, viz: *a that no body can thoroughly understand the art he shew'd in his Enthymems and argumentations, but according to the proficiency they have in learning, and the knowledge they have in Rhetorick.* I should never make an end, should I pursue this subject; that which hath bin said may suffice to acquaint us with his extraordinary merit, and give us an estimate of his worth.

*a Erasmus in his preface to Demosthenes.*

## CHAP.



*The Character of Cicero's  
Eloquence.*

**N**Ever had any one a more happy birth for Eloquence, nor which was accompani'd with more small circumstances then Cicero. He had a Father that was a person of very Good Quality, and was born in the most flourishing State, in the most knowing age, among a people of the most refined manners, and in a time famous for the number of great Wits then flourishing. Nature which for the most part does bring forth her productions at all adventures, without any choise of materialls, or other design then to go on in her old tract, did not keep to her principles in what concern'd him, for she never was more favorable to any one, that was design'd

sign'd for a perfect accomplish'd Orator. She began with giving him a body endued with all those graces could make him lovely, and with filling his mind with all those great naturall gifts that were fit to make him a very extraordinary person. His melancholy, which according to *Aristotle*, is the most ordinary temper of great wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy; and which is very unusual, there was never any one person master of so much solid reason, and so much brisk gayety at once as he.

He had a great soul and a deep judgment, a plain, and sober, but rich and fruitfull fancy, a tender heart, an affecting aire, and taking delivery, a handsome face, a good voice, a good address, & a very pleasing presence. *Plutarch* assures us that he was so pretty a youth, that his school-fellows fathers took pleasure to see him, where he went to school.

That

That vast extent of learning and stock of knowledge, wherewith he so carefully replenish'd his mind in so many years he spent, and voyages he undertook, gave a weightiness and authority to all he propos'd, and made him speak with the greatest solidity that one can imagine. And in truth without this ground worke of knowledge, Eloquence would be but an empty kind of chat, and a confused medly fit for nothing but to make a noise.

Besides this solidity which included so much sence and prudence, he had a certain grace and sprightlinesse of wit, which made him able to embellish all he said, so that nothing came into his fancy, but he set it off with the most pleasant dresse, and the most lively and naturall touches that could be imagined. Whatever he treated of, whether it was the most abstruse questions of Logick, the most bar-

ten parts of naturall *Philosophy*, the most crabbed difficult cases in law, or whatsoever else is troublesome and difficult; all this I say when it chanc'd to be the subject of his discourse, did participate of those airy touches of wit, which were so naturall to him, for we must needs acknowledge that never any body had the gift of writing at once so judiciously, and so pleasantly as he.

He does well represent his own Character, in that he makes of *Crassus*, whom he brings in as the most accomplisht Oratour of his time: he had, saith he, much gravity in his discourse, but it was free, pleasant, and gentle: he was elegant without affectation, had a popular aire, but yet maintained by his gracefull manner of expressing himself. The truth is he did not amiss in preferring him to all others, whom he there looks upon as the most exact model of Eloquence.

*Crasso nihil statim fieri posse perfectior. In Brut.*

And

And that is the reason, why in his books *de Oratore* he delivers his own sentiments altogether through the mouth of *Crassus*, and speaks for the most part in his person, so to give greater weight to what he delivers, and the more to authorise his opinions. And as his knowledge was universal, so did he write equally well upon all subjects, which is the greatest and surest signe of the excellency of his Genius, which having no limits, was capable of succeeding in whatsoever he tooke to. And that is also one of the chief commendations *Cicero* gives his *Crassus*. There are also many other things to be said of him, if one would descend to particulars, but that would be endlesse.

But after all, the chief perfection of his Eloquence was his admirable talent of affecting the heart upon

<sup>b</sup> *Versatus in omni genere causarum Cic. in Brut.*

<sup>c</sup> *Tullium habemus in omnibus discendi generibus eminentissimum. Inst. lib. 10. C. 9.*

pathetick subjects, by that wonderfull art of moving the passions, the ground of which he had from nature, and which he so well improved by his constant studying of *Aristotles Rhetorick*: for tis in that the power of Eloquence may most display it self, by the great motions, and violent impressions, she makes on the heart in stirring the passions. *Cicero* was master of this part of Eloquence in so eminent a degree, that in cases of great importance, in which divers Oratours were employed in the chusing of parts and subjects, he had always allotted him those in which one might be the most pathetickall, because he was happier at that then any body else. And *Brutus* himself said, that though *Hortensius* was so well qualified for Eloquence, as to vie with *Cicero*, or at least to be opposed to him in important causes yet

*Hoc est quod designatur in iudiciis hac eloquentiam regunt Quint. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

when

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when they speak together upon the same subject, he did willingly yeild him the making of the conclusion, because it was *Ciceros* chief talent to affect, and make impressions upon the minds of the Judges by the turns of his Eloquence. And in this he was so succesfull that many times he would force sighs and tears from the assistants at the bar. These strange effects proceeded from a singular art he had of insinuating himself through the mind to the heart, and of sowing there the seeds that produced these soft motions, by the force of his argumentations, that so he might therewith shake the resolutions of all he spoke to.

He arrived to this perfection, chiefly by his naturall temper; for he had a very tender soule, and a soft passionate aire in all he did: and besides his gracefull delivery and his excellent pronounciation

*Ut plangore & lamentatione forum compleremus.*

gave



gave him a very easy admittance into the hearts of his audience, who finding themselves surpris'd by so many charms, were not able to make any resistance. But to all these naturall beauties, he also added infinite artificiall ones, throughout his whole discourse, by an Elquence enrich'd with all the Figures and ornaments of speech; which last was one of the most eminent parts of his Character: for never had any one in any language so fluent a tongue, or so much command of words.

Plainnesse back'd with a great deal of sence, & upheld by an aire becoming the dignity of the subject, is in my opinion the soveraign perfection of discourse. I find in the expressions of the ancients, who are our truest patterns, a threefold plainnesse, in *Cesar* a naked bare plainnesse, in *Petronius* an affected one, and the third in *Cicero*, who chose a mean between those two, which

made

made up his Character as to expression, and in my opinion is far beyond either of the other. *Cesar* is too plain, *Petronius* is not enough so, and *Cicero* is as he should be; for avoiding the barrenness of *Cesar*, and *Petronius* his affectation, he does mingle ornaments among those things which will beare them, and cut them off from those that deserve them not, without ever raising himself above his subject, as men of shallow parts, and those who are any thing inclin'd to the puerile way, use to doe. So that the plainness of *Cicero's* discourse is more or lesse according as the subject requires.

His metaphors are neither too dazzling, nor too bold; but the way of his discourse is alway's easy and naturall; his connexions are never forc'd nor sought for, all his figures and ornaments are disposed in their proper places; his thoughts are great; and it is hard to determine,

mine; whether he was more happy in chusing, or expressing them: for he never wants in his expression any thing that is requisite either to please or affect his audience.

# CHAP. XVII.

## *The effects and commendations of Cicero's Eloquence.*

**W**E need not then wonder that so accomplish'd an Eloquence produced such wonderfull effects; for it was that alone, which without any other accessory help but the vertue of this Oratour, rais'd him from a man that was of no note, and whose ancestors had not bore any offices in state, to the highest of all greatnesse, and made him master of the world. It was that by which he deserved the most glorious title, that any private person could

*Omnia incrementa sibi debuit. vir novitatis nobilissimæ. Vell. Pater.*

hope for; which all the conquerors that went before him could never obtain: for he was call'd the father of his country, which is the most fit title that can be to satisfy the ambition of a soveraigne, who has a soule great enough to be sensible of the inexpressible satisfaction there is in having a soveraignty over mens minds and reigning over his peoples hearts. Lastly it was this his Eloquence which triumph'd over *Cesar*, even then when he came from conquering *Pompey*, and when he began to ascend the throne and be master of the world.

For *Cicero* being now come over to *Cesar's* party, undertooke the defence of his friend *Q. Ligarius*, who was accus'd of having born armes against *Cesar*, notwithstanding the great obligations he had to doe the contrary. *Cesar* who had already

*Primum omnium pater patrie appellatus. Plin. hist. l. 7. c. 30.*  
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c. I  
CON-

condemn'd him in his heart, had yet a mind to hear *Cicero*, whom he had not heard a great while by reason of his long absence & business in the war newly ended, and therefore answer'd some of his friends, who would have dissuaded him from it, *What matter is it? let us hear him, but yet it shall be neither here nor there for that: for I have already taken my resolution.* But this Oratour spoke so stoutly for the defence of his friend, that he affected *Cesar* notwithstanding his former resolution to the contrary. And *Cicero* having mention'd something that happen'd in the battel of *Pharsalia*, *Cesar* found himself all over strangely mov'd, so that, as if he had been enchanted, he let fall some papers he had in his hand. In fine he could not resist such powerful charms, nor that subtle artifice he used in commending him; & though he had taken a firm re-

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solution before hand of not being overcome by the Eloquence of this powerfull Orator, yet was he at last forc'd by it to forgive *Ligarius*.

I mention not the same favour *Cicero* obtain'd for King *Dejotarus*, and for his friend *Marcellus*, of the same Emperour, who was so resolute and hard to be perswaded to any thing. One need but look in the Comments which *Tho. Freigius* has very methodically made on *Cicero's* Orations for the particular success of every one of them, to know thereby the effects of his Eloquence, which I shall not stand upon, that I may say something of what he did in *Catilines* business, which got him so much reputation, both upon the account of the importance of the Conspiracy, and the persons that were engag'd in it.

*L. Sargius Catiline* was a Roman of great quality, but of a very dan-

*Nihil soles oblivisci nisi injurias, Pro Lig.*

gerous

gerous spirit, by reason of his being endu'd with some very great virtues, but more and greater vices. He had large thoughts and designs, he was daring, of a great spirit, of a strong and vigorous constitution of body; he was temperate, watchfull, always in action, and never cast down by his ill fortune, close and dissembling, but openly affecting to seem free and candid, subtle without seeming so, and doing nothing without design. He was liberall of what ever he had even to prodigality, and insatiably coveting all that he had not. He had acquir'd himself an Eloquence fit to please malecontents and mutineers, and to maintain and put the best face on wicked practises. He likewise knew how by engaging his person to promote his enterprizes; which he might have pursued farther, had he had conduct enough to overcome and weary out the obstinacy of



of his ill fortune. For never was any body more brave and daring, and yet more unfortunate then *Catiline*.

An enemy of this importance, having engaged all the most considerable and most hot headed youth of Rome on his side, started up against *Cicero*, at a time when *Pompey* was busied in a long and troublesome war against the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. So that Rome was then unprovided of forces, and exhausted of her wealth, by the luxury that then reign'd, and most peoples minds and affections, whom *Sylla's Dictatorship* had lately shaken and disturbed, were yet unsettled.

In so crosse a conjuncture of affaires, this seditious fellow, having found all *Tuscany*, and a great part of *Lombardy*, easily inclinable to revolt, appeared a Candidate for the Consulship: and this his demand was back'd by the credit

dit and name of *Cesar*, who had been engag'd in this designe the more to authorise them. They were likewise maintain'd by many other persons of quality, who declar'd themselves more openly then *Cesar*, for he so well knew how to behave himself in these kind of businesses, which for the most part are very hazardous, that he never engag'd, but when he saw so many already declar'd, as tooke away all possibility of danger to himself whatever happen'd, so that though he had a share in most of the ill practises against the state which happen'd in his time, yet he chose his side so wisely, that he never was expos'd to danger in any; and this made *Cato* say, *That of all those who had plotted against the state, Cesar was the only man that came sober to destroy the commonwealth.*

*Unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendum Romae sobrium accessisse. Sueton. Jul. Caf.*

*Cicero*

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*Cicero* had nothing to oppose to so horrid a conspiracy, but the power of his Eloquentie; and yet he brought it to nought without any other assistance but that of his resolution. For having himself made *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, the two chiefs of the conspiracy that were to be found, be carried to prison; he caus'd them to be beheaded in his sight. The people was so wonder-struck at so bold an action, that by the advice of *Calpurnius*, who was then speaker of the senate, and of *Cato*, they decreed him such publick honours as before had no precedent. And it was on this occasion that *Cicero*, by the unfeign'd zeale for his country and unshaken courage, deserved that glorious name of his *Countryes father*, which was since the proudest title wherewith the vanity of all the Emperours suffered themselves to be flatter'd by the base fawnings of the slavish people. After  
so

so brave an action, upheld by the strength of his Eloquence, the whole party was so discouraged and disturbed, that *Catiline* was fain to fly from Rome, the people beginning now to be inflamed with indignation against him.

And it was this glorious action, for which Rome was more beholding to this her Consul, in that he delivered her from so great a danger, then to *Romulus* for building her; seeing her being first founded was a thing of meer chance, but her preservation in such a time, was an effect of a most prudent and generous conduct.

The war which the republicque waged against *Marc Antony*, who by reason of his consulship had grasp'd the whole government of the state into his own hands, and the raising of young *Octavius*, were as wonder-

*Non tantam urbem fecit Romulus, quamtam Cicero servavit. Tit. Liv. in Sen. Decl.*

full

full effects of *Cicero's* Eloquence, as was the preservation of the state from the ruin it was threatned with by *Catilines* conspiracy.

And indeed in that this Orator did even more then he himself intended, for he designed nothing in raising *Octavius*, but the destruction of *Antony*. But the elogium which he made of him and his vertues, put him so far into the peoples favour; that it immediatly rais'd him higher then ever *Antony* had been; and that advantage over *Pompey* which cost *Cesar* so much blood in the Plaines of *Pharsalia*, was not so great as that which *Cicero's* Eloquence alone gave *Octavius* over *Antony*. For this young man had so much discretion, as to make use of his nomination of him for Consul, and of the Publick employments he put him upon, as of so many steps by which he ascended the throne of the Empire; which *Cesar* did so  
diffi-

difficultly bring to passe, with all the most experienced Roman Legions, and with the Forces of the greatest part of the world which he commanded.

The renown of this his Eloquence was so great, when *Bestia* and *Mettellus* were tribunes, that both of them did what they could to hinder *Cicero* from ever speaking in Publick, because of the too great power he had in perswading: in which he was like him who is mentioned by *Seneca* in his declamations, vwho always commanded the assent of those he spoke to as soon as ever he opened his mouth.

I shall not here stand to transcribe at length all learn'd mens judgments upon this Oratours Eloquence, which would be very tedious, seeing there are none but have signalis'd themselves by the praises they have given this great man. But I can not omit the

*¶ Kerum potiebatur cum loquebatur ad populum.*

suffrages

suffrages of the two first *Cesar's*, and  
 some others, which are too confi-  
 derable to be past by. *Julius Cesar*  
 said, as *Quintilian* reports, that  
*Cicero* had triumphed oftner by ver-  
 tue of his *Eloquence*, then all the rest  
 of the *Romans* put together by their  
 arms. *Augustus* in *Plutarch*, say's he  
 was a very great *Orator*. *Ammius*  
*Pollio*, who made himself so famous,  
 by the great love he had for learning  
 and learned men, beleeves, that  
 nature and fortune had taken a pride  
 in jointly being favorable to the *Geni-*  
*us* and *Industry* of this admirable *Or-*  
*ator*. *Horrensus* assures us, that *Ci-*  
*cero's* chief talent, was in moving his  
 hearers hearts, which is the great-  
 est commendations can be given an  
*Orator*. *Aufidius Bassus* say's, his  
*Eloquence* was so extraordinary  
 that he seem'd born for the *stage* and

*Huius ingenio atque industria superba natura per-  
 riter & fortuna obsecuta est.*

*Vir orator ad Reip. salutem.*

pre-



preservation of the Commonwealth. It is  
 as *Lucius* in a Fragment of this,  
 which we find in *Yenoda's* Decla-  
 mations, says, that *Lucius* had  
 made himself for such admired by  
 his Eloquence as *Cicero*, that he was  
 happy both in his works, and the re-  
 compence he gained for them. *Pater-  
 nus*, that no body could be excellently  
 Eloquent unlesse he had been conversant  
 with *Cicero*. *Pliny* the Historian, that  
 no body is to be compared to him. *Quin-  
 tilian* amongst many other commen-  
 dations of him, which his books are  
 full of, declares, that this great  
 man was a gift sent down from heaven,  
 in whom Eloquent takes pleasure to  
 display all her power, without any  
 her wealth, and that it is a shame not  
 to yield ones self wholely over to  
 persuade.

*Delectari ante eum pariter, nec  
 minime possis, nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum vi-  
 derit. Hist. l. I.*

*Extra omnem aliam ingenii positus. Hist. nat.*

CHAP.

I men-

I mention not that famous Epigramme which *Catullus* made in praise of *Cicero's* Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* say's in his commendation in his eighth satyre, *Martiall* in the third and fifth books of his Epigram's, *Cornelius severus* in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epistles, *St. Jerome* in the Epistle to *Nepotian*, and many other places of his works, where he confesses what a great esteem he has for *Cicero*; *Aurelius Victor*, *Cassiodorus*, and a multitude of other great persons, who have done themselves much honour in the Commendations they give of him. This is what I had to say in particular of the different Characters of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*; I come now to the comparison between these two Characters, which is the main design of this discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

*A comparison of the Characters  
of the two Orators.*

**B**Efore we decide any thing, that we may reconcile those who have declar'd themselves for either of these two great Orators, we shall doe well to lay down one undeniable maxime, which is, that though every thing have but one Metaphysicall truth, yet it may have divers degrees of perfection and goodnesse, which may consist in very different qualifications; and this may sufficiently authorise mens severall relishes, and justifie their various judgments of them. For every perfection may have in its kind a great extent of differing degrees, but the truth of it cannot, which being a perfect conformity of our ap-

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prehension to the object, must of necessity be still one and the same.

But if this maxime be true in other things, it is much more so in Eloquence, which requires so great a number of different qualities to make her perfect. And this doubtlesse was the reason, why *Cicero* makes *Brutus* observe, that though *Cotta* and *Sulpitius* were both perfect Orators, yet their talents were very differing. For *Sulpitius's* excellency, consisted in the force and vehemence of his discourse, whereas that of *Cotta* was his sweetnesse and gracefullnesse; whereupon *Brutus* speaking of them, cry's out, *O the admirable art of Eloquence which has so great an extent of perfection! For Cotta and Sulpitius were both of them perfect in their way, though each of them wanted some very conside-*

*a* O magnam inquit artem, siquidem istis cum summi essent Oratores dua res maxima altera alteri desuit.  
*Brut.*

*rable*

able qualifications. And this makes Cicero confesse, that <sup>a</sup> there may be two accomplish'd and perfect Orators, though they be of very different Characters. Because there are <sup>b</sup> in Eloquence, as all other things, beauties of very different kinds.

So that according to this principle, we may judge between Demosthenes and Cicero without preferring either of them before the other: and compare their excellencies without diminishing either's reputation, seeing they had each of them in their way arrived to sovereign perfection. I shall therefore now lay down the differences, which may be found in the comparison of these two great persons.

As for Invention, which is the chiefest of the naturall qualities that are necessary to an Orator, it

<sup>a</sup> In oratoribus possunt esse summi qui inter se dissimiles sint. *Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> In aliis dignitas oris, in aliis varietas. *Ibid.*

is difficult to say which of them had most, since they both were possess of it in so vast an elevated, & extraordinary manner: but as the fancy is that which gives the Invention those delightfull slight touches which doe most beautifie it, *Cicero* having had a more pleasant and taking fancy, had consequently a more neat Invention. Their Judgments seem to have been equally solid; there is nothing to be found in them, that is either deceitfull or faltering; all is substantial and rais'd on good grounds, and they both have strictly observ'd that precept of *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, which teaches that perswasion is effected only by the naturall bringing in of the most ordinary things. And these ordinary things are order'd by them both in such an excellent manner as can admit of no exceptions.

Their expressions are proper and neat, and have nothing in them that is

ex-

exquisite or studied for, though *Demosthenes* by reason of the copiousness of the Greek tongue does allow himself to be more bold then *Cicero*, who keeps closer to the purity of his language. His expressions shew more his modesty and the respect he had for the Latine tongue, and *Demosthenes* is more lofty and elegant: but *Cicero's* softnesse hath nothing effeminate in it, as *Seneca* observes. Both of them are equally admirable in the Lofty way, and in that elevated discourse, which *Longinus* treats of, and which he calls *the Image of a great soule*.

Their thoughts and expressions are alway's strong and full, having nothing in them either that is to low or cold; and are alway's accompanied by a majestick aire, which does so much distinguish them from all other Orators.

*Sine in famia molli*

*ut in famia molli*

But



But as *Cicero's* Genius was more universall then *Demosthenes's* and his learning of a greater extent, so had he the advantage over him of leaving no kind of Eloquence unpractised, and wherein he had not exercised himself, as I observ'd before.

*Demosthenes* had confined himself to the businesse of the state and the bar only, that is to the Judiciary and deliberative parts of Eloquence, and hardly medled with the Demonstrative; for the Commendation of *Chabrias* the Generall in the Oration against *Leptinus*, is mean and weake, in comparison of that which, *Cicero* made of *Pompey*, in the Oration for the *Manilian Law*. *Libanius* does also pretend, that the funerall Oration upon those who were kill'd at *Ocheronea*, which is among *Demosthenes's* works, is not his, because the style of it is too low. He affirms the same of that of love; because it is too soft and unlike his  
ordi.

ordinary style. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is also of the same mind, who likewise observes, that *Demosthenes's* periods are very round and harmonious, and of a very regular number, in which *Cicero* comes not behind him in my opinion.

<sup>a</sup> The design of the discourse, the order, arguments, divisions, and all things that any way depend upon the invention, are much alike in these Orators, and that because they both imitated no other pattern in these things but nature, which is that we must regulate our selves by in all these parts, if we would succeed; and as they both worked in that upon the same ground, so have they little differed in it. Not but that in *Cicero's* argumentations, his Logick seems more exact and lesse intricate than that of *Demosthenes*.

<sup>a</sup> *Quorum virtutes pleraque arbitror similes, consilium, ordinem, præparandi, dividendi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quæ sunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. cap. 1.*

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It is also probable that the art of syllogizing, which *Cicero* had so carefully learn't in *Aristotles* Logick, was not so much in use in *Demosthenes* his time, whose argumentations being only plain *Enthymem's*, were more naturall, and agreeable to his vehement pressing way; as that art of deducing particular consequences from universall principles, which *Aristotle* reduced into a method, and which *Thomas Freigius* has so well pickt out of *Cicero*, is much more insinuating, and suitable to his manner of writing.

After all these things which were common to both these Orators, these are the chief differences we can find between them. *Demosthenes* is more passionate then *Cicero* and more grave, he sets upon his business resolutely, and pursues things roughly, without having any respect of persons, no not though they be Princes. He lays all *Philipps*  
pra.

practices open, as soon as he is got into his office, without any regard either to his person or Crown; nay he does as it were degrade him and strip him of all his honours, to treat him like a private person, and calls him *the fellow of Macedonia*. He likewise delights sometimes, out of a morall austerity which was naturall to him, to pull down the pride and haughtriness of the *Athenians*, who were so jealous of their authority. And as his choler and peevish humour were visible in all he said, so did he give himself up so much to the impetuous current of his temper, that it was but very seldome that he was coole and without passion when he spoke. *His discourse is likewise rough and harsh, and is never smooth or moderate.* But Cicero is much more master of himself and all his passions, he

*Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil len. Sen.*  
Conts.

more

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more gently manages his auditours minds, and regards whom he speaks to, he has nothing that is harsh or surly, is pleasant even in his anger and indignation, and has the art of pleasing still whatever he speaks of. It was he indeed, that first made the Romans sensible of the pleasures of Eloquence, as *Plutarch* observes in his life, and who knew how to make that be thought pleasant, which is honest.

*Demosthenes* finds out in all the reasons he thinks on, all that is in them either of solid or substantial, and has the art of representing it in its full strength, but *Cicero*, besides this solidity, which never escapes him, does likewise lay hold on all it has in it of pleasing and taking, and never fails of his aime in the pursuit of it. The torrent of *Demosthenes's* discourse is so violent and rapid, his argumentations so close, and many, his whole man-

ner of writing has it in a height so like that of a craggy rocks and precipices, as *Longinus* expresses it, that it is difficult to follow, and keep pace with him; whereas *Cicero* carries his auditors along with him, or makes them goe before him; he turns and winds the minds of his hearers, and touches their hearts so, that they guesse before hand what he has next to say, and in a manner prevent him. And when he first begins to speake of any thing, they find which way he is going by the address he has, to lett them know from whence he comes; so well he knew all the springs and turnings of mens hearts, and in that his great art and chief masterpiece consisted.

Thus that we may distinguish the Characters of these two Orators by their reall differences, one may affirm (me thinks) that *Demosthenes*, by the impetuousness of his temper,

• Εὐφραίνει τὸ πλῆθος ἀπατόμενον.

the

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the force of his arguments, and the vehemence of his pronounciation, was more pressing and forcible then *Cicero*, as *Cicero* by his soft and gentle way, his smooth insinuating passionate touches, and all his naturall graces, did more affect and moove. The former struck the mind by the force of his expression, and the ardent violence of his declaiming; the latter made his way to the heart, by certain pleasing imperceptible charms, which were naturall to him, and to which he had added all the art Eloquence was capable of. One dazzled the mind by the splendor of his lightning, and surprised the soule by the mediation of the amazed understanding, but the other by his pleasing and taking passages, would slip into the very heart, & had a way of insinuating himself into, and making use of the interests, inclinations, passions and opinions of those he spoke to.



And it is in this difference, I imagine, that may be found the explanation of that passage of *Longinus* in his comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, a fragment of which is come to our hands, and which it would not be easy to apprehend without the light we have from this observation. For at first dash that similitude of lightning which he mak's use of to expresse the Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, and that of a great fire to which he compares *Cicero's*, form's no very distinct Idea of the difference berween their Characters. One would think that he meant only that the Eloquence both of the one and the other, was so powerful that nothing can withstand it. *The Eloquence of Demosth.* says he, is a whirlwind and clap of thunder, that overturns all things, and that of *Cicero* like a great fire, which devours all things. So that violent and Impetuous make up the Character of

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*Demosthenes* his Eloquence, and the progresse of a great fire, which consumes all that withstands it by degrees, together with the heat and insinuating power of fire, are the chief qualityes of *Cicero's*. The Grecian break's out like Thunder, the Roman warms and enflames like a great fire. And therefore *Longinus* adds, that *Demosthenes* succeeded alwaies when it was requisite to strike terrour into the hearers, and to worke upon them by strong representations and violent motions. But when it was necessary to goe to the very heart, and insinuate ones self into the mind, by all those charms and delicate stroaks which Eloquence is capable of, then it is that *Cicero's* art is triumphant, and that his diffused, enlarged discourse, succeeds far better then *Demosthenes* his more close concise way; and the one has not more power in the surprising strength of his rea-

reasoning, then the other gain's by the warming and affecting motions he raises.

We should have known much more from this learn'd Critick, who was so Judicious, were the place where he makes this comparison perfect, and if the greatest part of it were not lost, to the no small dissatisfaction of his interpreters. But however, he sayes enough to establish that distinction I have put between their manner of writing: which I likewise find altogether conformable to *Plutarch's* opinion, who where he compares these two Orators, say's that *Demosthenes* is every where concise and close, and his arguments very pressing, without any ornament or beauty: whilst *Cicero* scatters many graces throughout his discourse, and is every where pleasing. *Philostatus* in the life of the *Sophisters*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in the Epistle to his friend *Amicus*, passe the same Judgment on *Demosthenes*. But

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But whilst we thus distinguish between the divers qualities of these Orators, we must in some manner limite what we have delivered; for though *Cicero* was generally insinuating and affecting, yet he could likewise when it was requisite, adde to his naturall sweetnesse as much passion and indignation, as his subject required, or the most transported spirit was capable of; as it appears in the Orations he made against *Verres*, *Piso*, *Claudius*, *Vatinus*, *Catiline*, and *Marc-Antony*. *Demosthenes* is likewise not so absolutely given to be violent and passionate; but that he can sometimes make use of the other softer way, as it appears in some passages of his *Olynthiacks*, in the Oration about the liberty of the *Rhodians*, in the defence of *Diophanes*, and that of *Ctesiphon*, and in the Oration against *Midias*, though the greatest part of this last be very vehement. But  
 seeing

seeing the Genius of *Demosthenes*, his nature, his art, his austere manners, and even his action and gestures inclin'd him to be more pressing and violent, and that all *Cicero's* naturall qualities were such as were more pleasing and touching; one may methinks without being much mistaken, distinguish them by these two assign'd ways of writing, wherein does consist their greatest perfection and the Essentiall difference of their Characters. And it was doubtlesse as much for this reason, as out of his inclination, that *Demosthenes* dealt more in Accusations then *Cicero*, for he hardly ever undertooke the defence of any one, but his severe humour led him rather to the contrary; and *Cicero* accused but few persons, for his nature was more inclin'd to sweetness and pittie, and it was against his will if he accused any man.

N

Yet

Yet *Cicero's* Genius being more universall then that of *Demosthenes*, he knew better to turn and wind himself to all things, and to transforme his into any of the other Characters of Eloquence. He knew likewise by a peculiar art he had, how far to urge and pursue a subject, when it was requisite to be violent, which methinks *Demosthenes*, through indulging too much to his inclination, did not observe, and in which it was very easy to exceed: for no body delights in being continually importun'd and press'd, but one can never be weary of being touch'd with what is pleasing, or of being entertain'd with it; and this is *Cicero's* great talent, who pleases always, and by means of the delight he affects us with, inspires into us what sentiments he will. It is this taking aire, which accompany's all he says, & constitutes that his sweet obliging kind of Eloquence, wherewith all souls are charm'd. But

But besides *Demosthenes's* his natural inclination, that had in it nothing cf. tender, but was harsh and austere, the laws of his Country forbid him to make use of any affecting passages, as I observed before; so that for the most part, he is very cold and mean in his Perorations, which are ordinarily only plain conclusions of what he was about, or at the best meer wishes for the glory & prosperity of his Country, which he made with very much concern, to give some kind of vigour to the end of his discourses.

N 2

CHAP.



## CHAP. XIX.

*Wherein is debated which of the  
two ways of speaking is best.*

**I**T will be easy by what I have discours'd about Eloquence in general, to determine, which of the two ways so remarkable in these two Orators, is to be prefer'd. The Orator who perswades best is doubtless the most Eloquent: and seeing he perswades but in proportion as he pleases, because the art of perswading is one & the same with that of pleasing, as <sup>a</sup> *Quintilian* observes from *Plato's Gorgias*, one may venture to say, that *Cicero*, who pleases more than *Demosthenes*, is at least in that particular more Eloquent than he,

<sup>a</sup> *Peritiam gratiæ & voluptatis. lib. 2. c. 15.*

unless there being two ways of persuasion, one that works upon the mind and understanding, and another upon the heart and will, it be likewise requisite to examine, which of those two ways is most suitable for an Orator to use.

The persuasion of the understanding is effected by a kind of dazzling light, which is darted forth, and a violent impulse of reasons which the mind cannot resist: it works in a certain elevated manner, and with such force, as surprizes and confounds the faculties, \* as *Aristotle* observes: but that of the heart is produced by those graces and pleasing charmes, which captivate the will, and draw her after them so delightfully, that she is pleas'd in forsaking her resolutions, and in giving away her liberty. For as the understanding does not assent unto any thing, but

\* *Θαυμάζονται δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπομημονεύει* Lib. 1. cap. 2, Rhet.

the evidence of reason, and to that which enlightens her, so neither can she will yeild it self, to any thing but the affective of good, & what is taking and pleasing, neither does it cease to act voluntarily in submitting it self to the pleasure that carries it away, because in that it follows its own inclination, which is to be pleas'd.

It is sufficient that one be sensible, to be capable of being touch'd and perswaded by the mediation of the heart, but nobody can be perswaded in his understanding unless he be reasonable, that is doe both understand and yeild to the force of consequence. So that the Orator who makes it his chief business to please that he may perswade, goes a surer way to work than he who strives only to do it by conviction, because every one is capable of being affected with what is pleasant.

It is without doubt for this reason,  
that

that *Cicero* says, <sup>a</sup> the multitude is a better Judge of Eloquence, then learned men. For besides that the people are not ordinarily prepossest with those opinions, about which learned men dispute, they doe likewise judge as one may so say, according to the heart, that is less subject to be impos'd upon than the understanding, which according to ill representations of things and false lights, it may have been affected with, is more liable to see things otherwise than they really are: On the other side, the heart which judges only according to what itresents, cannot be mistaken, seeing it can resent nothing from any but what that thing hath really in it. Only natural true beauties affect this; when false apparent ones doe often please understanding and learned men, whose palate is more

<sup>a</sup> *Quod probat multitudo, id doctis probandum.* Cic.  
in Brut.

corru-

corrupted by the divers tastes they have experienced.

And this Eloquence which works upon the understanding, is rather an instruction than Rhetorick, that I mean which *Socrates* \* mentions in *Plato*; and though there be some minds on which nothing will work, but the force of reason, and who must be convinc'd before they can be perswaded, yet I esteem it not convenient to be always urging of arguments, and that as home as one can; for at least it is certain, that it is natural to yield ones self more willingly to a gentle than a fierce haughty conqueror. And this is the reason why *Homer*, who makes his *Nestor* Eloquent in perfection, puts in sweetness as the chief part of his Character.

Nevertheless that Eloquence, which works upon the understanding is more glorious, than that which wins

\* *Cui Socrates non docendi, sed persuadendi: facultatem tribuit, Quint. lib. 2. cap. 15.*

the heart. A heart that is affected, is no such subject for the triumph of an Oratour, as a convicted mind, and that which strikes the mind makes a more lasting impression, because that reason which gave the stroke still continues the same, but that which touches the heart vanishes with the heat of that passion which produc'd it, because all things that proceed from passion are very transient. Finally in as much as the resistance of the understanding is more difficult to be overcome than that of the will, so is passion less powerfull to perswade than reason.

This tempestuous Eloquence, which *Aristotle* saies troubles our minds, by overturning our opinions and subduing our reason, never does any thing but openly, and so as to be taken notice of, her strokes stun and dazle like lightning, and smite like thun-

*Nihil citius adest lachryma. P. 6. c. 1.*

der

der, *thoe* is like those whirlwinds, which overturn the tallest trees with the same facility as the trembling reed. Such was *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, who had the art of governing and mastering the minds of the most fierce, light and untractable people that ever was. This masterless rabble, which was so jealous of the merits of any one that made himselfe remarkable in their commonwealth, did submit their reason to that of *Demosthenes*, who forced them to bend under the weight of so irresistible a power. The truth is *Cicero's* Eloquence charmes the mind, but *Demosthenes's* astonishes, the former mak's it self lov'd, the latter fear'd and obeyed. After all it is very difficult to say which is the most advantageous for an Orator. If I were to speake to person's above me, I should chuse to please like *Cicero*. If to a people below me, I would  
fright



fright them like Demosthenes. However since that all this distinction I make between these two Oratours does not decide the controversy, nor give either of them the precedence, I shall leave the debate to those who have so good an opinion of themselves, as to think they are equal to it; when I shall have added a word out of *Sidonius*, which does more particularly point at the difference that may be found betwixt them. It is in an Epistle to a friend of his called *Claudian*, who was brother to *Mamercus* Bishop of Vienna, where he says speaking of his Eloquence, *that he is violent and passionate like Demosthenes, and persuades like Cicero.*

Before I put an end to this comparison, I can not omit the opinion of *Monsieur De Vair* keeper of the Seale, who after having translated into our language the Oration of

*Trascitur ut Demosthenes, persuadet ut Tullius. l. 3. cap. 4.*

Demo-

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*Demosthenes* for *Ctesiphon*, and *Cicero's* for *Milo*, which he thought the best which those Orators ever made, without meddling with the controversy about the precedence, which he avoids, he say's neverthelesse in his discourse of Eloquence, that *Cicero's* is lesse suitable to our humours and tempers then that of *Demosthenes*. It may be he minded not what he said. For besides the disgust those bitter and cruell invectives, which the Greeks used towards one another in their accusations, would produce in a gentle and civilis'd nation; We are likewise better natured than to be pleased with *Demosthenes's* harsh and dry way, which designs the moving or touching the affections, especially in competition with *Cicero's* soft and charming Eloquence. I might mention many more disproportions between our humours and his kind of writing, as his violent decla-

clama-

clamatory way, and excessive transportment, his bold figures, and those passionate Apostrophe's and frequent invocations of the Sun, starrs, rivers and fountains, and swearing by insensible things; as also those dry barren argumentations, that are void of all graces & artificial ornaments, and generally his whole manner of writing so opposite to us, with whom *Cicero's* way agrees and takes best.

I made some stay upon the unraveling of the essential difference of their two Characters, that I might doe it more exactly. The Comparison of their other qualities, as it is more easy to be made, so it will not require we should spend so much time about it. There appeares in *Demosthenes* his art more pains and care, but *Cicero's* is more pleasing. *Tully* allows himself a larger field in his amplifications, and in the ordinary course of his orations, as the greatness of the Theater on which  
his

his Eloquence appear'd, which was the Capital City of the world, did require: whereas *Demosthenes* seems to have proportion'd himself to the fortune of the people with whom he had to doe, which being confin'd to narrower limits, his style was the more agreeable thereto. But both *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* arriv'd to such perfection each in his way, that *a nothing can be spared from one, nor added to the other* says *Quintilian*.

It must be confessed after all, that *Demosthenes* his ratiocinations are stronger and closer than *Cicero's*, and that according to the height of his spirit, he was capable of none but great subjects, as that of setting out fleets against the Persian, of bringing the State into a settled order of Peace, of the Rhodians liberty, of the succours that ought to be sent to the neighboring people against *Philip*, and all the most Import-

• *Huic nihil detrahi potest, illi nihil addi.* l. 10. c. 1.

tant

rant affaires of Greece. So that it seemes he could not take any other subjects for his Orations, disdaining to stoop to lower. Which *Cicero* out of the universal extent of his abilities and fancy which he would fit as well to mean as higher subjects, never stuck at. For his discourse can in every part of it uphold it self by its proper strength, whereas that of *Demosthenes* required sometimes to be made out and maintained by his action, which was the life of it. The former was fearfull when he was to speak in publick, the latter bold and confident; though he was once out of countenance speaking to *Philip*. *Demosth.* <sup>a</sup> was so positively affirmative, that he would always be thought to be in the right, but *Cicero* was content to make it appear he was so. *Demosthenes* was but seldom known to aime at wit; but it was so naturall to *Cicero* to be facetious, that he was pleasant in his

<sup>a</sup> *Quorundam probatio in sola affirmatione. c. 2. l. 4. Inst. adversus*

versity, only his exile did something disorder his ingenious fancy whilst it lasted. The Roman was of a very personable presence, had a comely face, and a good clear loud voice. The Greek was not unhand-some, but the earnestnesse of his action did recompence for the other exteriour quality's which he wanted. The truth is he spake with much more heat and vigour, and *Cicero* more gracefully and pleasingly. Finally though according to the principles I fixed upon, before I enter'd upon the distinction I have made between their two Characters, I find that *Demosthenes* his aire is more majestick then that of *Cicero*, and that *Cicero's* is more pleasing then that of *Demosthenes*, yet if we consider the circumstances of time, persons, and affaires, we must needs conclude, that both these O-rators were perfectly accomplish'd each in their kind, and that they could

could not have been so, but by the different ways they took as most suitable to the temper of their Auditory's; that their peculiar excellence, and the great advantage they had in Eloquence was founded, upon the perfect knowledge they had of the dispositions of the people with whom they dealt, and in the skill they had of fitting themselves to their Genius; in such manner that one would imagine Rome and *Cicero* were made for one another, and *Demosthenes* for his *Athens*, and that never any third person arriv'd to that supreme degree of perfection, as did these two great men. But seeing the divers ways they took doe constitute two quite different kinds of Eloquence, I shall leave it to be decided which of the two is the best, by those that understand it better then I pretend to do. Yet that

*Orationis differentiam fecisse & dicentium & audientium natura videntur. Quint. l. 12. c. 9.*

O

I may



I may plainly cleare this matter, I shall make an end of explaining the remaining difficultys about this subject.

## CHAP. XX.

*A resolution of some remaining difficulties by way of conclusion to this discourse.*

**T**He first difficulty that presents it self in the comparison we are making, is a certain passage in *Quintilian*, whose suffrage is very considerable in this case, which he has so diligently examin'd. For seeing he pretends that *Demosthenes* is the modell from which *Cicero* took pattern, he seems to give the former a great advantage over the latter: These are his words. *Cicero must yeeld to Demosthenes as his originall, and him who made him what he is.*

is. The truth is, this commendation is so glorious for *Demosthenes*, that it may be doubted whether *Quintilian* has not said in it more than he thought. For this Critick, after having exalted *Cicero* above all Oratours, seems very much to debase him, and rank him below *Demosthenes*. I scarce beleieve after the observations we have made, that all people will be of his opinion; or that this Oratour, who was the most celebrated Oracle of the mistress City of the world & never open'd his mouth but to send forth charm's, and enslave the most free people that ever was, I say I scarce believe this man of so admirable, discerning and universall parts ought to yeeld to *Demosthenes* because he was his pattern.

For if *Demosthenes* himself has our

*Cedendum vero in hoc quod ille & prior fuit, & Cicero quantum est magna ex parte fecit. lib. 10. c. 1. Instit.*

done *Pericles*, in *Lucian's* opinion, though he took him for his exemplar, if he has effac'd the glory of *Thucydides*, whom he did so exactly and carefully imitate, as the Orator *Ulpian* who is his most faithful interpreter relates, what should hinder us from believing, that *Cicero* has at least equal'd *Demosthenes*? Hath not *Virgill* equal'd *Homer*? hath not *Aristotle* gon beyond *Plato*? though *Homer* and *Plato* were the modells by which *Virgil* and *Aristotle* framed their works? Did not *Raphael Santi*, that great artist in painting, obscure the reputation of *P. Perusinus* who was his master, and the copy by which he drew? And doe we not see dayly, persons of great capacity's, who in all arts doe farr surpassse those from whom they have the first instructions.

But *Cicero* confesses that he proposed to himselfe *Demosthenes* as his pattern, but could not arrive  
to

to that perfection he strove to imitate in him. I deny it not, for this great man as he was something vain, so had he also some fits of modesty, but they lasted not long as it appears on this occasion: for he elsewhere disgusts even *Demosthenes* himself, where he declares, that in some places he is not satisfied with him. And besides that, it may be said, he strove to imitate *Demosthenes* only in that forcible vehement way which he so admires in him, and which the truth is he did hardly arrive to. Neither know I whether he desired it or no; for those that can be charming and pleasing, when they will, care not so much to be terrible and violent, as often as they can. But *Quintilian* decides it clearly, where he say's

<sup>a</sup> *Imitemur Demosthenem quid aliud agimus? sed non assequimur.*

<sup>b</sup> *Usque eo morosi sumus ut non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes.*

that

that Cicero was powerfull as Demosthenes, copious as Plato, and pleasing like Isocrates.

The second difficulty we meet with, is an expression in *Longinus*, about *Demosthenes*, which his abettors it may be will not approve of. *Longinus* in the comparison he makes between *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*, say's that he understands not mens tempers so, as thereby to set the passions in motion, which is that wherein Eloquence may most display her power. The truth is we must agree with him that he understood not very well the different motions of the soul, nor that temper of the mind, which *Aristotle* explaines in his *Rhetorick*, which *Demosthenes* never saw, what ever *Lucian* as exact as he is, and *Antas Gelius* who is very judicious pretend to the con-

<sup>a</sup> Videtur Cicero vim effinxisse Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, facundiam Isocratis. L. 10. C. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Aristoteles sect. 13.

trary. For it is evident that *Aristotle* wrote not that book till he was pretty well in years, and after having studied above twenty years under *Plato*, without declaring himself for any of those sects of *Philosophers*, which were then in vogue at *Athens*, or so much as teaching.

It is likewise evident, that *Demosthenes* spoke all his most considerable Orations, before the Prætorship of *Lyfimachides*, and that *Aristotle* wrote his books of Rhetorick some time after. Nay he does there make some kind of mention of the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, in these words [as to the matter of *Demosthenes*] which that Orator spoke nine years after the *Chersonesian* war, eight years after the death of *Philip*, and about the time of the victory which *Alexander* got at *Arbela*. This is *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* his opinion in his Epistle to *Ammeus*, and the

reputation

reputation this author hath of being a very exact and carefull Chronologer, does make his suffrage much more considerable. And *Laertius* observes that *Alexander* forbad *Aristotle* to let any besides himself see his books of Rhetorick; that he might alone have the enjoyment of so great a treasure; and *Plutarch* relates the same thing.

So then we ought not to wonder, if *Demosthenes* understood so little of peoples manners and tempers, according to *Longinus*, seeing he could not come to the sight of that Treatise *Aristotle* has made of them in his Rhetorick; where he has very plainly layd open the whole mystery. And in this, *Cicero* had the advantage over *Demosthenes*; for he drew all that perfect knowledge he had in those matters, from that copious spring. I stand not to examine, why some pretend that *Aristotle* wrot his books of Rhetorick only from  
that



that he saw *Demoſthenes* make uſe of, becauſe it has no ground. They would have had ſome reaſon for what they ſay, had *Demoſthenes* been the only Oratour *Ariſtotle* had heard, but he was the Auditor of *Hyperides*, *Demades*, *Lyſias*, *Phocion*, *Eſchines*, *Pytho*, and many others; he had likewise ſome acquaintance with *Iſeus* and *Iſocrates*, not to mention *Plato*, whom he had thoroughly ſearch'd into. And he fram'd from all theſe great patterns taken together, and from the reflections he had made on them himſelf, that admirable platform of Rhetorick wch he has left us; & which ought rather to be meditated upon then read, as well as the reſt of his works, for it is an unvaluable treaſure; which thoſe who ſpeake in publick can't be too much exhorted to read, and thoroughly ſearch into all the art it contains. But as it is probable *Cicero* underſtood the intrigues of mans heart

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heart better than *Demosthenes*, having learn't it so well from *Aristotle*, so to be even with him *Demosthenes* understood better the interest of his own and the neighboring nations, then *Cicero* did that of all the allies of the Empire. *Philip's* Ambition, which had long sow'd divisions among the Greeks by many dark contrivances and secret practises, had long taken up his mind, and he had made it his businesse to follow and study his designs. This he had firmly set upon, and the perfect knowledge he had of it, gave him an opportunity of laying open, to the greatest advantage the particular interest that all nations had to oppose themselves unanimously to the encreasing greatnesse of that Prince: and this did exceedingly set off his Eloquence, by the glorious representations of those things which were for the publick good; and those frequent Politick Ratiocinations,

tions, wherewith most of his discourses abound, and which are so effectually in his Orations, whose subjects are alway's either great in themselves, or made so by the art he has of bringing into them affairs of great concern. So that power and weightiness, which *Quintilian* seems to ascribe to the Romans above the Greeks, to whom he yeelds the preheminance as to gracefulness and delicacy of writing, is not to be interpreted in my opinion of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in particular, but of the whole nations, and their two languages, For the Greek is more delightfull and pleasant, and the Latine more grave and serious.

The last difficulty would be to satisfy the Criticks, in giving them here a parallel of the best passages in *Demosthenes's* Orations with those

*Non possumus esse tam graciles, firmos fortiores:  
subtilitate utamur, maleamus pendere. lib. 12 cap. 20.*

in

in *Cicero*; which it may be, might be very acceptable to them, & would be a going to the very bottom of the case in dispute and pursuing the comparison as farre as ever it will be carried. To w<sup>ch</sup> I answer three things, First that there is nothing more difficult then to agree upon those passages which are best in these two Orators, being men have such different palats as to those matters, that they are so far from ever agreeing about them, that we cannot according to the rules of prudence dispute of them. Secondly that if we had agreed upon them, those choise passages must either be translated into our language, that they might be compar'd, or be lett alone each in their own, from both which many inconveniencies would arise.

For as every language hath a particular Character of its own, and a certain beauty which is peculiar to its self, and cannot possibly be  
 exprest

express'd in any other, it would not be a little difficult, to be just to both languages in the translation, and it would be a kind of degradation from their elevated style, to translate them into any modern language, because they are not yet arriv'd to that majestick height, which learned men find in the Greek and Latine, whose Characters have in them something more great and strong than ours.

This is easily discovered in Comedies, where the language being constrain'd to trust as it were to its own meer naturall strength, maintains its self alway's in Greek and Latine at an other rate then does the translation, in which the expression is often weake ev'n in verse, and will never beare it self up with any successe in prose, by reason of a certain poor and languishing weakness that it has. Lastly it may be replied that *Lipsius* in many places of his works hath already

ready compar'd the most admir'd passages in these two authors, as also Father *Cassinius* in his *Parallel of Eloquence*, which neither of them had any successe in, for the reasons already mention'd. So that it would be not only imprudent, but also unprofitable to venture at it again, after their miscarriage in the attempt; especially since those passages cannot be taken out from the rest of the discourse, without being spoil'd and strip'd of their greatest beauty, which many times consists only in that exact proportion, and suitableness they have with the other parts. It ought to be in a discourse as in buildings, whose beauty consists in a generall uniformity.

This may easily be seen in that admirable passage of *Demosthenes* his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, which is so cried up by all the great masters of Eloquence, where he say's. *No it*

is not so, I swear it by the ashes and Manes of those brave men that were kil'd in the battles of Salamis and Marathon. &c. where the Orator sets forth all that is great and glorious in Eloquence, and which indeed is admirable if it be well considered. But it is not the same thing, when it is taken out of its place, and look't upon by its self, without being concerned, or having ones mind prepar'd by what goes before; for so the dependance of it and its proportion to the rest, which make's up all its beauty, appears not. The same may be said of that passage in Cicero, which Quintilian commends so much in the Oration for Milo, *Kos Albani tumuli atque luci*: and of many others. But those who are so curious as to desire to make this comparison, may be satisfied with opposing Demosthenes's *Philippicks* to Cicero's, for both the subject and the way in which they treat of it, is much



much the same ; so that they can nowhere be better compar'd.

And it may be the observing of the most essentiall parts of their Characters, will be found sufficient to enable any body to judg exactly between these two Orators, without descending to a long tedious research, which would have swel'd into a compleat treatise of Grammar or Rhetorick; a designe distant enough from what I pretended to: for it was not my purpose, to write for the satisfaction of Pedants and Grammarians, who love to examine things with a Criticall nicety, that is altogether ridiculous: and tis very probable, they will be the only persons, who will not think this matter sufficiently clear'd. But I am certain, that those who are really learned will judge I have said enough, to furnish any body with a rule, whereby to judge of the rest.

Lastly as I am not so vaine as to  
value

value my self upon the reflections  
I have made upon these two Orators,  
so I desire it may be known from  
whence I have gathered them,  
which may something conduce to au-  
thorise them the more. I declare  
therefore that I have delivered no-  
thing of *Demosthenes*, but what I had  
from the most learned writers of An-  
tiquity, who knew him best, and  
among the rest *Dionysius Ha-*  
*licarnassens*, *Hermogenes*, *Plutarch*,  
*Longinus*, *Lucian*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian*  
and *Photius*. As for *Cicero*, though it  
may be I am pretty well acquainted  
with him my self, yet I chose rather  
to trust the Judgment of *Seneca*, *Plu-*  
*tarch*, *Quintilian*, *Longinus*, and  
the Historians who were his co-tem-  
porary's, then to my own. As I have  
not then spoken at randome about  
these great men, so possibly I may have  
contributed by these observations,  
to make them known after another  
manner then they usually are. And

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it may be this discourse will not  
be uselesse to those, who have a love  
for Eloquence, to call into their  
minds the notions of it, by the  
greatest Characters thereof that e-  
ver were, and which it is good now  
and then to consider to frame ones  
self after such patterns. Some may  
also discover in it the way that must  
be followed to attain Eloquence,  
by pursuing that which these have al-  
ready taken: and the Pictures I have  
made of them may also enable us to  
discover who are the *Demosthenes's*  
and the *Cicero's* of our age, or those  
who come nighest them, if there be  
any that doe so.

FINIS.

